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4 November 1983

# NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA REPORT

No. 2847

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### EFFECT OF DROP IN OIL REVENUES ON GULF ECONOMIES ANALYZED

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 341, 3 Sep 83, p 42

[Article: "Has the End of the Age of Black Gold Begun?"]

[Text] Abundant signs indicate that the Gulf region is no longer attracting foreign and Arab labor and expertise. Abundantly available statistics show that the number of those leaving Kuwait, the Emirates and Qatar is greater than the number of those coming.

The reason is the fall in the real value of oil income to a level lower than that of 1976, when millions of workers, experts and administrators poured into the Gulf region following the jump in oil incomes in 1973 and the initiation of huge development schemes, beginning in 1975.

The publication of the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries, OAPEEC, says Arab oil income has fallen \$117.68 billion. It fell \$47.16 billion in 1982 and \$7.52 billion in 1983. One can say that the Arab states in general have lost half their oil income in comparison to their income in 1981.

This great decrease threw the financial officials in the Gulf states into confusion as they were preparing their governments' budgets. The situation in the oil market was so obscure that it was sometimes impossible for planners to estimate oil revenues, exports and prices. Therefore, the issuing of these budgets was delayed a few months. This froze activities and special projects.

It is expected that the budget deficits of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates will reach about \$14.5 billion, although these budgets were cut back and gave up a lot of development projects, especially those that were connected with basic infrastructure. The decrease in the budgets came at the same time as the announcement by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia that it had achieved its infrastructural projects and no longer needed a huge oil income. One Western businessman interpreted this announcement to mean there would be a decrease of about half in the Saudi government's project expenditures. However, this year's Saudi budget does indicate that total spending on projects will exceed \$20 billion, as compared to \$15 billion last year. In addition, Kuwait announced that it would spend about \$2.160 billion on projects this



year, which is more than half a billion dollars over last year's project budget. As for the Emirates, it announced that it had cancelled most of its development plans in order to economize its resources.

The point has been made that the activity of public and private institutions in the Gulf states is based on absorbing a huge amount of government spending. As this spending has fallen in real terms, private institutions have begun to have to cut back their activities. Consequently, many foreign and Arab administrators have been let go, and greater attention has been paid to the cost side than at any previous time. Finally, the institutions can no longer seek the help of European experts, who demand high wages, or of Arab technicians, who have become accustomed to ask for high salaries. These institutions have come to depend essentially on technical expertise and workers from the Far East.

The FINANCIAL TIMES, a British newspaper, says a historic tendency has recently appeared, namely emigration from the Gulf states. It points out that this emigration might lead to a large decrease in the population of the Gulf states. For example, there are predictions that the population of Qatar will decrease 15 percent. Also as a result of this, figures from the ministry of planning in the United Arab Emirates show that for the first time the rate of growth of the citizenry exceeds that of the immigrant population. As for Kuwait, it announced that 4,318 persons have left the country in the last 3 months.

Statistics indicate that about 3 million Arabs are working in the Arab oil states, with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and Iraq taking the large part of them. These people send about \$8 billion per year to their countries.

These transfers fell quite a bit last year, but recently returned to the level they were at in 1981. However, if the crisis of lower oil revenues continues, it is expected that transfers will fall to their lowest level. As a consequence, there will be economic crises in a number of Arab countries which depend greatly on transfers from abroad, such as Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, North Yemen and the Sudan.

The general feel among Gulf officials is that they have to come to terms with the new situation. Perhaps Saudi Arabia was the first to reach this conclusion when its officials announced that the Fourth Development Plan was taking into account a lower level of oil production and depending more on non-oil resources.

12224

CSO: 4404/631

GULF STATES TRY TO REIN IN STOCK MARKETS

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 341, 3 Sep 83 pp 41-42

[Article: "Gulf States Rein In Speculative Competition On Stock Markets"]

[Text] No sooner had the Kuwaiti national assembly approved the new law dealing with resolving the interlocking dealings of Suq al-Manakh then the Kuwaiti Government had submitted another bill which aims at organizing activity on the Kuwaiti stock exchange, which is known as "the Kuwaiti Securities Market" and which contains Kuwaiti stock corporations." As for Suq al-Manakh there is no supervision of the brokers who are active in the sale of shares, but do not use any scientific or logical principle. Under the threat of punishment, any sales on credit have been forbidden as well. At the same time, Bahrain has taken the first step toward setting up an official stock exchange, while in the Emirates, the bill to set up securities exchange has moved several steps forward on the legislative level.

All these steps aim at complete control over the stock markets in the Gulf in order to prevent the occurrence in the future of any crisis similar to the Suq al-Manakh crisis.

The organization of the Kuwaiti stock exchange, under the new law, means intensified supervision of the buying and selling of shares, so that exchange operations now fall under the supervision of three agencies. The first follows the prices of shares and analyzes their movements, the second follows and evaluates operation of selling on credit and the relationship these operations have to immediate sales, while the third collects, analyzes and publishes data connected with the market and the securities exchanged there.

According to the law, which is expected to come into effect soon, the market committee can take any steps necessary vis-a-vis operations of doubtful validity. In addition, it can call a temporary halt to the market's activity, or stop trading in the shares of one or more companies if exceptional circumstances should arise which threaten the good progress of activity and its organization.

It is well known that the Kuwaiti stock market is not Suq al-Manakh. The business of the former is the trading of shares in Kuwaiti companies, of public and private bond issues, and of the shares of close corporations. As for the latter, it limits itself to trading in the shares of Gulf companies, which number 27. These companies have been set up in the Emirates and Bahrain in the last 8 years.



If the Suq al-Manakh crisis is finally solved, some observers think that the Kuwaiti Government will find it has to incorporate Suq al-Manakh into the Kuwaiti stock market, in order to achieve equality of supervision. Or, it could apply the same supervision to the Suq al-Manakh stocks. It has been noted that the law permits Gulf companies to join the Kuwaiti stock exchange if they meet tough conditions, although Suq al-Manakh shares and stock exchange shares are now in the same situation.

If trading in the shares of Gulf companies increases, trading in the shares of Kuwaiti companies improves as well. It has been noted that, at the height of the Suq al-Manakh crisis, trading on the Kuwaiti stock exchange reached its lowest level since the exchange was set up in 1978.

With regard to Bahrain, the first phase of the creation of the stock exchange has begun. The center for coordinating information on securities has been opened. The center works to gather information on the stock of Bahraini companies and send it via special television channels to about 19 brokers who work in the stock market. This measure is being implemented in accordance with a plan drawn up by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development's financial organization. The Bahraini Ministry of Trade gave the job to the bank. According to the plan, the Bahraini stock exchange will be set up in two stages. The first stage is transitional, and will last 6 to 9 months. During this period, a special agency will spread information to traders and concerned people. The second stage is that of the actual stock market, since all operations will be carried out in a single big hall which is expected to open in mid-1984.

The coordinating center asked each company to supply it with information on its total and net income, its profits, when these profits are to be distributed, the division of the company's shares, and the dates on which issued stock and granted stock would be distributed, as well as other data.

It seems that the purpose of this step is to throw some light on the participating Bahraini companies and the details of their situations, in order to allow the traders to make correct decisions with regard to buying stock. Moreover, it aims to make the center the major source of information on the participating companies, instead of rumors, as the conflagration of the Suq al-Manakh crisis showed to be the case.

Mr 'Abd-al-Razzaq Zayn-al-'Abidin, the coordinator of the Bahraini stock exchange project, says that the service center will transfer information on deals to the brokers as soon as they occur. Moreover, it will transmit the broker's desire to buy or sell his stock. Further down the line, it will provide all companies and investment associations with data via television channels.

The Ministry of Trade has laid down a temporary system limiting the methods of stock trading, so that every broker must remain in constant contact with the coordinating center and inform it of all the deals he contracts, of the shares he has to offer, and of the quantity and kind of stock being requested from him.

With regard to the Emirates' stock exchange, the department of religious opinions and legislation has approved a federal draft law concerning setting up the first securities market, which would have its headquarters in Abu Dhabi. Its task will be to supervise the buying and selling of securities, encourage the growth of savings, realize the optimal investment of these savings, take part in increasing the investment of savings, and help meet the financial needs of the federal government, the local governments, the public agencies and the institutions which belong to them, and the private institutions and companies.

The market will have a committee which will oversee its operations. It will have the right to use all the means it considers appropriate to achieve such goals as organizing buying and selling operations, gathering statistics on the companies in the stock exchange, qualifying brokers and maintaining contact with financial markets abroad.

The law requires the following institutions to be members of the market: the Ministry of Economy and Commerce, the Ministry of Finance and Industry, the central bank, the Association of Banks, the Abu Dhabi Investment Authority, the financial institutions, national investment companies and limited stock companies whose shares are accepted for trading on the market, and interested brokers.

The organization of the exchange of shares, in both the Bahraini and the Abu Dhabi stock exchanges, is fundamental to moving beyond the Suq al-Manakh crisis and preventing its repetition. It is well known that most Gulf companies are registered in Bahrain and the Emirates, and custom has also dictated that Kuwaiti investors establish their Gulf companies in these two countries as well. Therefore, setting up stock exchanges in Bahrain and the Emirates will force most Gulf companies to join them and be bound by their rules and regulations. Consequently, it will lighten the burden which sits on the neck of the Kuwaiti market. Moreover, distributing the companies' shares across the three markets will make artificially raising share prices difficult.

All of this has to be added to a large project being studied by the general secretariat of the Gulf Cooperation Council: the creation of a Gulf-wide stock exchange for trading securities. This exchange would be so big that it would be hard for a few individuals to play around with billions of dollars, as happened in Suq al-Manakh last year, with statistics showing that eight individuals working together did a total of \$20 billion worth of trading in Suq al-Manakh.

12224

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MUSA SABRI ARTICLE ATTACKS HILMI MURAD'S CREDENTIALS

Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 6 Sep 83 p 1

[Article by Musa Sabri: "Heroes of Freedom and Defenders of Democracy"]

[Text] My visitor, a Socialist Labor Party star, said to me: "Have you heard the news about the tempest?" "What tempest, you antagonist whom I love?"

He relaxed in his seat and began to relate [the following]: "Listen sir, the tempest within the Labor Party. Discussions flared up and turned into arguments and accusations. Voices began to rise, threatening disaster, destruction and terrible things."

I said: "Stop this suspense. What is going on?"

He said: "The partisan coup within the Labor Party against Dr Hilmi Murad. Statements he made to AL-MUSAWWAR's editor-in-chief, that he had talked with Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din about merging the Labor with the newly-dissolved Wafd Party, with him [i.e. Murad] as a possible chief of the new party, because the two parties' programs are one and because he was the one who drew up the program of the dissolved Wafd Party, caused the rift and generated the explosion.

Hilmi Murad stood in the prisoner's dock, defending himself by denying that he had made these statements. However, AL-MUSAWWAR's editor-in-chief's reaffirmation that he was the one who contacted Hilmi Murad and read his statements to him made Hilmi Murad's defense a new indictment, that he did not tell the truth, even within the party."

I said: "But, Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din also sent a statement to the press, which we published in AL-AKHBAR categorically denying that any talk about a merger had ever taken place. He also categorically denied that Hilmi Murad was the one who drew up the dissolved Wafd Party's program, reaffirming that Hilmi Murad had approached him about joining him after the party had finished drafting its program and that he only listened to a couple of vague remarks made by Hilmi Murad about the program totally unrelated to the substance."

My visitor said: "You did not let me finish. The Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din statement was like a thunderbolt over Hilmi Murad's head. It was also a new indication before the rejection front of Hilmi Murad's endeavors to dominate the

Labor Party and its newspaper. They are right [that] AL-MUSAWWAR reaffirmed that it had published Hilmi Murad's words verbatim and that it had re-read them to him, but he claims that he did not say [that]! Moreover, Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din confirms that everything that Hilmi Murad has published is completely unfounded and does not have a shred of truth. All this put Hilmi Murad in an unenviable position."

Mr visitor then said: "You owe it to me to let me reiterate what I had told you about Hilmi Murad totally losing his grounds with the opposition. You would not believe me, insisting that he was the overlord of the Labor Party and its newspaper. Was I not right?"

I said: "Perhaps, my friend, you have noticed my indifference to all of this. Stories about what is going on within the Labor Party have become boring; they are like an old stale joke. This saddens me because I have always dreamt of a strong opposition and honorable practice that would bolster the democratic structure which we must all strive to defend and support. But, I see that the entire situation does not go beyond the compass of overbidding, political clowning and fallacies. This is what is unfortunate and sad."

He said: "I thought you would be happy with the news of this tempest."

I said: "You have been disappointed, my dear. I beg you to read the official minutes of 'Abd-al-Nasir's meetings at the new cabinet in the wake of the 1967 defeat being published by 'Abd-al-Majid. I assure you that you will be as sad as I am after reading 'Abd-al-Nasir's dialogue with Hilmi Murad. Hilmi Murad demanded that 'Abd-al-Nasir appoint partisan judges from the Socialist Union to fill justice seats. He also demanded that any opposition from communists, the Muslim Brotherhood and reactionaries be considered [tantamount to] national treason, under a law to be enacted by 'Abd-al-Nasir."

My friend, the leading figure of the Labor Party, said: "Impossible. Perhaps you are exaggerating. I have not read these minutes."

I said: "I'll spare you the trouble. I'll read to you the texts of the dialogue."

My friend sat flabbergasted while I read to him.

"'Abd-al-Nasir said: 'As to what is being said by some Socialist Union leaders about the reactionary position of some men of the law, it is true because the judiciary in general stands against our revolutionary measures. Unfortunately, there are many elements in the judiciary who have come under the socialist laws. I remember in Egypt's past political life, every party was keen on appointing its lawyers and jurists to key positions in the judicial system.'

"Dr Hilmi Murad commented on that as follows: 'Your excellency, your words about the judiciary and its men in Egypt are sound. I don't imagine that there is one ruling party anywhere in the world that appoints anyone from outside the party to important judicial positions!!'"

I told my friend: "The two exclamation marks after these words are not mine; that is what AL-AHALI newspaper published."

My friend said: "I am the one who is most surprised. How can this serious opinion voiced by Hilmi Murad before 'Abd-al-Nasir in the cabinet be compatible with what he later alleged, that his resignation from the cabinet was due to his warning 'Abd-al-Nasir against adopting any measures against the judiciary."

I said: "I have a correction to make regarding your comment. Dr Hilmi Murad did not resign; he was removed. We have living witnesses from among the ministers who attended the cabinet session in which 'Abd-al-Nasir declared to Hilmi Murad that he would not be able to cooperate with him and he left the session. Hilmi Murad tried to go after him, but 'Abd-al-Nasir did not give him a chance."

My friend began repeating, "Praise the Lord. I can't believe anything in this country any more."

I said: "Listen, let me read you other lines in these official minutes being published by 'Abd-al-Majid Farid in AL-AHALI newspaper. 'Abd-al-Nasir talked again about the judiciary, saying: 'There was political manipulation among the judiciary to force them on a path that is counter to the line of the revolution. I am aware of that, but I don't want to resolve matters through arrests unless I am forced to do so under unusual circumstances.'"

My friend said: "What was Hilmi Murad's comment on this threat to arrest the judiciary?"

I said: "You may also be surprised that he did not say anything; he remained silent! He did not remain silent, however, in another debate during the same cabinet session. Lt Gen Muhammad Fawzi, minister of war, addressing President 'Abd-al-Nasir, said in the course of the debate: 'With regard to the counter-revolutionary forces (the communists, extremists, the [Muslim] Brothers and the reactionaries) who are moving now while we are still at war, decisive measures must be taken against their elements.'

"'Abd-al-Nasir commented on that, saying: 'We are embarking now on a political battle to win over the masses. A suggestion like yours causes us a lot of damage in this battle. But your suggestion can be implemented after the formation of the Socialist Union's national conference and the central committee, provided that it is done through them.'"

"At this point, Dr Hilmi Murad commented as follows: 'I am with General Fawzi regarding the necessity to take a decisive measure against the counter forces, but in a manner different than that envisaged by General Fawzi. We can, for example, presently consider violations of law and incitement of discord national treason!' 'Abd-al-Nasir replied: 'I do not agree, and there is no need to take any measures or to voice any threats at the present time, because people who are afraid threaten and I am neither afraid nor pessimistic.'"



My friend, the leading figure of the Labor Party, exploded with an angry voice: "Hilmi Murad was the one who instigated 'Abd-al-Nasir to strike at the counterforces (with whom he is allied now) and the only difference between him and General Fawzi was over the manner [of doing this]: General Fawzi asking for direct decisive measures and Hilmi Murad telling him he agreed with him that decisive action should be taken, only in a different manner. The manner Hilmi Murad suggested was enactment of legislation considering them traitors because what they were doing violated the law and incited discord! The penalty for treason is, of course, death and all General Fawzi asked for was a direct measure, that is, arrest. Nevertheless, 'Abd-al-Nasir rejected both suggestions!"

I said to my friend: "I think you won't blame me if I tell you that I am disgusted with what is going on in our political theatre and with what I have been reading by writers who claim false heroisms, with protagonists portrayed as heroes of freedom, defenders of democracy, pioneers in the defense of the constitution and the law, and protective shields for the independence and the sanctity of the judiciary as well.

"And when did this dialogue, recorded by 'Abd-al-Majid Farid in his official capacity at the time, take place? It took place after the '67 defeat and shortly before the referendum on the 30 March declaration forecasting political freedom after removing the traces of aggression. The aim of the meetings held by 'Abd-al-Nasir was to debate the desired change that should be instituted. We find Dr Hilmi Murad instigating 'Abd-al-Nasir to make the judiciary partisan, just as governments all over the world did, according to him. Then he instigates 'Abd-al-Nasir also to consider any opposing current as national treason punishable by death!"

On top of his perplexion, my visitor was stricken by speechless indignation and I got the feeling that he was tongue-tied. Grief was written all over his face, and, in an attempt to dispel his sorrow, I said:

"However, during the next session and after the referendum on the 30 March declaration, Dr Hilmi Murad wanted to win Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir's favor, so he told him: 'People's confidence in the government has been previously shaken but, thank God, confidence has been once again restored and the masses have great hopes for change and reform. Your recent candid speeches have had far-reaching effects on all the factions, including the private sector.'"

#### The Apex of Courage in Expressing Opinion

"But what drove Dr Hilmi Murad to call for a partisan judiciary, then demand that any counter current be considered national treason?

"How can he say that, while we read articles by him day and night, defending the sanctity of the judiciary and political freedom?

"There is a reason for that. In a previous cabinet session, the first session of the new cabinet to be chaired by 'Abd-al-Nasir on 24 March 1968, Dr Hilmi Murad proposed that attention be paid to political freedom along with social

freedom because political freedom realizes participation in viewpoints and in government. He also proposed a review of Law 119 of 1964, concerning the state's right of arrest and protective custody, because it had no place while the country was in a state of emergency. He said that that would put a lot of minds at ease.

"Abd-al-Nasir refused and Hilmi Murad had not one word to say.

"Rather, he later said that application of the illegal gains law to the upper class and government officials in ministries and institutions did not meet the objective which was 'honest and revolutionary purity which your excellency has demanded.' That is how he spoke to President 'Abd-al-Nasir. Then he said: 'I have noticed, having been in the cabinet, suspicious conduct by some, but it is difficult to get material [i.e., evidence] against them; therefore, I ask that they be removed from the cabinet.'

"In this manner, Dr Hilmi Murad asked for the right to remove any cabinet employee he suspected, and thus he gave himself the right to suspect and to remove, because the law stipulated evidence and evidence was hard to get.

"Such is the sovereignty of the law that Hilmi Murad wrote about in hundreds of articles during the late president's administration and after President Mubarak took over."

My friend rested his face on his hand, saying, "Enough, enough."

I told my friend: "Another incident with which I will end this discussion so that we will not have to return to it again. In this session, as well, Dr Hilmi Murad asked that the law providing for labor representation on the boards of directors be repealed. 'Abd-al-Nasir replied to this 'socialist' proposal by decisively saying: 'About the subject of laborers and their participation in boards of directors, I am still convinced of this role for the laborers. I do not agree with Dr Hilmi Murad on revoking this right of theirs, despite some observations in some cases. I consider the experiment successful and well-done so far and there is no reason to be hasty in our judgment because of certain limited mistakes.'

"Hilmi Murad fell silent and did not say one word.

"So, we see that Dr Hilmi Murad went completely to the other extreme in the next session. No political freedom and no anything; only legislation considering those with countertrends [as] traitors! The countertrends had been defined in debates as communist, extremist, Brotherhood, and reactionary trends. By reactionary, they meant all those to whom the revolution's socialist measures applied, including, naturally, pre-revolution party leaderships with whom Dr Hilmi Murad allied himself following 'Abd-al-Nasir's death, becoming the deputy chief of one of them!"

After all this, we hear shouts and cries about freedom, and we see [people] shrinking away from democracy!



Oh God, I am sick and tired of talking about politics.

Oh God, I have given up on politicians' stage plays.

Oh God, help us in the clean-up campaign.

12502

CSO: 4504/594

## QUESTION OF MERGER BETWEEN AL-WAFD, LABOR PARTIES EXAMINED

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 188, 17-23 Sep 83 pp 30-32

[Interview with Dr Muhammad Hilmi Murad, Labor Party secretary general, and Ibrahim Shukri, Labor Party chairman, by 'Amr 'Abd-al-Sami': "What Is True Story of Merger or Coalition Between Opposition Wafd and Labor Parties"]

[Text] Numerous reports have been circulated in Cairo nominating the Labor Party to merge with the New Wafd Party, which is expected to resume its activity. All have nominated Dr Muhammad Hilmi Murad, the present secretary general of the Labor Party and the ex-vice chairman of al-Wafd Party before this party was abolished, to return to al-Wafd either through merger or coalition between the two parties. Statements to this effect have been attributed to Dr Murad. Even though some political circles have denied these reports vehemently, other circles have not denied the idea, asserting, however, that the time to achieve it is still far ahead.

AL-MAJALLAH has moved within the Labor Party and al-Wafd Party circles to get the answer to the most serious question facing the Egyptian political opposition's future, namely: Will the Labor Party join al-Wafd Party in a coalition or a merger or will the Labor Party maintain its independence in the face of the Wafdist hurricane?

AL-MAJALLAH has interviewed Dr Hilmi Murad and asked him if he plans to project the idea of merging the Labor and al-Wafd parties. He said in reply: 'We must make a distinction between coalition and merger because each concept has its characteristics that distinguish it from the other. In the case of coalition, each party retains its mainstays and components but cooperates with the other party with which it is allied for either a set period of time or for a specific objective whereas merger means the disappearance of the identity of each party as an independent unit. I believe that the idea of merger is difficult for the members of both parties. Consequently, a coalition becomes more realistic and closer to our nature.'

[Question] Questions are raised about you, considering that you will lead a current that may join, merge or form a coalition with al-Wafd Party. These questions are justified, considering your rapid shift from the New Wafd Party to the Labor Party and the rumors that have been circulated about your return

to al-Wafd. What is Dr Hilmi Murad's intellectual position vis-a-vis these two parties?

[Answer] The fact is that there is no fundamental difference between the current program of the New Wafd Party and the declared program of the Labor Party. The broad lines are the same and there is no contradiction or difference that could lead to a clash. Consequently, shifting from this party to that one does not reflect a drastic transformation.

[Question] But at this level of discussion, we must note that the Labor Party's historical roots are totally different from those of the New Wafd Party. The Labor Party's roots extend back to the Young Egypt Party, which was a socialist party, whereas al-Wafd Party was a liberal party. Would it not behoove al-Wafd Party to merge or form a coalition with the Liberal Party, which is a liberal party?

[Answer] Immediately before the revolution, al-Wafd Party did follow some socialist directions. This might have happened under the pressure of the social circumstances and of the desire to please the workers and the peasants or under the pressure of some young Wafdist elements that had their weight and influence in the party. Consequently, there is no sharp contradiction, from this angle, between the Labor and al-Wafd parties.

[Question] What al-Wafd did before the revolution was to develop soft reform tendencies, as evidenced by the fact that in the wake of the revolution, the agricultural landowners' wing exerted pressure on the party to hesitate in accepting agrarian reform and to propose the levying of escalatory taxes. Do you consider this compatible with the clear position of the Young Egypt Party which presented the agrarian reform bill?

[Answer] You are referring here to historical issues. But now that the surgery (the revolution and agrarian reform) has been performed, the body must be restored to its normal condition. We must view the parties issue within its new historical context. When I joined the New Wafd Party at the outset, I wanted to break the shackle imposed on the freedom of forming parties inquiring that 20 deputies join any new party that intends to come into existence. But before joining the New Wafd Party, I reviewed the party program with a number of colleagues and we had some observations [reservations] to which the party responded and so we joined. In any case, alWafd Party includes different and varied tendencies, and this is something that eliminates conflict in the relationship between al-Wafd and the Labor parties.

[Question] If there is a big similarity in the fundamentals of the Labor Party and the New Wafd Party programs, then what is the need for al-Wafd Party to emerge as an independent party to start with?

[Answer] No, there are differences. I have not said that there is identicality. The Labor Party program focuses on aspects that al-Wafd Party may not emphasize. But we all seek to achieve agreement over the sound framework for political life in Egypt--a framework without which we cannot achieve reform.

[Question] So what parties besides the New Wafd should emerge in Egypt in order that the framework of [the system of] government may become sound?

[Answer] This is not a democratic question [he laughs] but a planned one. The thing is that we urge that the door be left open for whomever has ideas which he thinks serve the country so that the people may judge him.

[Question] Are you talking here about the people as an abstract?

[Answer] No, I mean the people as a group of voters who give their votes to this or that party in free and honest general elections.

[Question] Let us return to the Labor Party. How did you achieve the position of the number two man in this party even though you are not one of the party's founders or one of its veterans in the Young Egypt Party?

[Answer] I took part in formulating the Labor Party's program and all of the party founders were aware of this. I also published my articles in the party paper before joining it. When Mahmud Abu Wafiyah (the brother-in-law of the late President al-Sadat and a party member) tried to ban my articles after I criticized the telephone deal concluded by ex-Prime Minister Dr Mustafa Khalil, the party did not agree with him and he resigned. This is how I joined the party.

[Question] How about the differences between you and some leaders of the Socialist Labor Party? Are they intellectual or are they differences over influence, as some people in the party have described them?

[Answer] There are no differences over influence in the party because the party has no spoils [to share], has no positions and includes no person over whom we disagree. But there are differences over how to perform the partisan duties and over the positions vis-a-vis a number of government decisions. Some believe in tolerance and flexibility and some believe in firmness and in expressing views with necessary frankness.

Will You Join al-Wafd?

[Question] A study by the American University of Cairo discusses the current tendencies in the Labor Party and describes your presence in this party as representative of the party's more radical current. How much do you agree or disagree with this description?

[Answer] I need a definition of the word "radicalism."

[Question] The sterner current or the current that demands reform from the roots.

[Answer] I do not call this radicalism because descriptions are relative. I do not call clinging to principles radicalism, as long as it is within the bounds of the law and does not resort to crude language and radical behavior.

Embarking on a truce that reaches the extent of cooperation insofar as principles are concerned is what leads to shaking the principles.

[Question] Let us discuss radicalism or non-radicalism within another framework, namely the framework of commitment or partisan commitment. How far do you abide by this commitment in the Labor Party?

[Answer] Sternness does not at all mean rigidity. Sternness insofar as principles are concerned does not at all negate the quality of discussion and persuasion. If a man refuses to be persuaded, then he is obstinate and not radical. A politician must be able to develop and to be persuaded by what is better than his current principles so that he may be able to modify his position if there is a need for such modification.

[Question] As long as we have reached the conclusion that a man may modify his principles, then by the same token, he may also modify his affiliations. You shifted from the New Wafd Party to the Labor Party. If the New Wafd Party emerges again, will you join it?

[Answer] This depends on what I feel I can achieve to serve my country, whether through the Labor Party or through al-Wafd Party, depending on the political and social conditions that we will face.

[Question] To deal with the New Wafd Party and with the Socialist Labor Party as two political units with which you have had no experience is impermissible because you took part, as you have said, in formulating their programs. You are also fully aware of their political structure. On the other hand, to say that you don't know the limits of the socio-political condition that will face these parties is also impermissible when you are in the midst of the political game. This, consequently, urges us to repeat the question: Will you join the New Wafd Party?

[Answer] You can determine the answer to this question at the right time when I will have a choice. But how can I have a choice now between a party in which I am a member (Labor Party) and a party which has not launched its activity yet (the New Wafd)? For me to choose, the two parties must be in existence first.

[Question] As an ex-member of the New Wafd Party, what are the general changes that may have developed in the party from the time it was suspended in 1978 to the time it announced an end to the freeze in its activities in 1983?

[Answer] These changes will not surface until the party resumes its activity because the previous movement and activity have to be compared with current movement and activity. No judgment can be passed on inactivity and immobility.

[Question] Both the New Wafd Party and the Labor Party are extensions of parties which existed before the 1952 revolution. Has this extension had any connection with your joining the two parties successively?



[Answer] It is not right to make a comparison between the pre-revolution phase and the post-revolution phase because whoever drops 30 years from his calculations is unrealistic. Everything has changed, even the mentality of the politicians and the intellectuals. Therefore, I view these parties in the new phase as totally different political units.

Who Is More Suitable to Lead Opposition?

[Question] Who is more suitable to lead the Egyptian opposition: Engineer Ibrahim Shukri or Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din?

[Answer] Ibrahim Shukri is a dynamic struggler. He was exposed to the bullets of the British in his early life and he is a firm struggler. As for Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din, it is possible that his age and his health do not qualify him for this dynamic role. However, Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din enjoys the distinction of having numerous connections with the veteran Wafdists, even in the heart of rural Egypt. Consequently, he gains major popular strength. There is no rivalry or fighting in this issue. Besides, why shouldn't both men be in the opposition and why shouldn't we benefit from the thought of every man? Human thought is a chain whose links are one reform idea after another.

[Question] But you are focusing here on the intellectual aspect of the issue whereas the observer of the Egyptian parties finds that the keys to most of these parties are personalities, considering that in their acceptance or rejection of a certain policy the Egyptians are strongly influenced by the personality projecting such a policy.

[Answer] I agree with you on this.

[Question] Then which of the two personalities is worthier of leading the opposition?

[Answer] I want to talk here of the concept without naming names. We must not reject an idea because it is tied to a side with which we disagree in opinion. That is why I admire Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din for declaring on the anniversary of Sa'd and al-Mahhas that he supports the public sector, because this is a change in the intellectual line.

[Question] I disagree with you, doctor. This is not a change in the intellectual line. It is tantamount to approval of what exists. It is very much like a citizen standing in the city of Cairo to acknowledge that there is in the city a square called al-'Atabah Square. Intellectual change occurs when a party adopts a different course insofar as the future is concerned and when it builds its answers on the bases of the future, not the past, regardless of whether this past is before the revolution or after the revolution.

[Answer] In any case, the party's program contains a part of this. What is important is the action.

[Question] As a prominent lawyer, do you think that al-Wafd's issue can be decided in this party's favor?

[Answer] This requires examining a number of points including, for example: Did the New Wafd dissolve itself in 1978 and notify the Parties Committee of its decision? The information I have is that Mustafa Khalil, the chairman of the Parties Committee, sent a letter to the general assembly of the New Wafd raising a number of questions regarding the correctness of the dissolution decision, but without notifying al-Wafd of the committee's acceptance of the decision. Moreover, al-Wafd's general assembly did not answer Mustafa Khalil's letter. The matter ended at this point and thus the decision made by al-Wafd Party's general assembly was an independent decision in which the will of no other party was involved. Consequently, al-Wafd can revoke its decision because it was not approved by another side, was not carried out and was not ratified, meaning that it was a revocable suspended decision. This is what al-Wafd has done.

[Question] If al-Wafd returns legally, what impact will it have on the government and the opposition?

[Answer] It will have the right to enter the elections with its party lists. It will thus become an element competing with the government party and with the opposition parties because it is, of course, an opposition party.

[Question] If President Mubarak asks you to hold an official position, in your personal capacity, not a partisan capacity, will you accept?

[Answer] This depends on the type of position. If it is not in conflict with the principles I declare and write, then I will agree so as to serve Egypt. The issue depends on whether the cooperation will be fruitful or whether the task will be a partial task within a useless machine that will cause the mission to be doomed to failure.

[Question] Will you run in the elections under the canopy of the new election law?

[Answer] If codified guarantees for free elections are provided.

#### Stormy Statement

Despite all that is implied about the New Wafd in Dr Murad's statements, Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din (Pasha) issued on Thursday, 25 August, a strong statement denying that any discussions had taken place between him and Dr Hilmi Murad on the issue of merger between the two parties. Siraj-al-Din said: "Despite my respect for the Labor Party and its leaders, the idea of merger with the Labor Party or with others has not and will not occur to my mind at any time. Moreover, this idea is as remote as can be from the policy of the two al-Wafds [old and new]." The statement also said: "We deny that Dr Hilmi Murad has said about his formulating al-Wafd Party program in 1978. Dr Murad perhaps remembers that he joined the party in the few days preceding presentation of the notification concerning the party to the Parties Committee and that the program had been actually formulated with the knowledge of a select group of al-Wafd men and supporters."



AL-NAJALLAH returns to ask Dr Hilmi Murad about the secret behind this stormy statement and he says: "The fact is that the matter in which this statement was published in the Egyptian press has varied. Some papers have published the statement in its entirety whereas others have published it incomplete. There is a paragraph in the statement asserting that I had asked that some modifications be introduced into the party program and that those modifications were made."

[Question] But this disagrees with the statements published by an Egyptian magazine and attributed to you and in which you say that you formulated the programs of both parties.

[Answer] What was published was conclusions and not statement. What I said was not in an interview but a passing word.

#### Interview With Ibrahim Shukri

But there is another side without which the picture will not be complete, namely that some Wafdists don't agree totally with Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din but rather see the possibility of a merger or a coalition with another party. This is probably confirmed by the disagreement between some of the party's bases and leaders or by the fear of some al-Wafd Party leaders that popular elements (with field contacts) will enter the party and end up with the party's actual leadership. Moreover, there is another point, namely the viewpoint of Eng Ibrahim Shukri, the Socialist Labor Party chairman whom AL-NAJALLAH has asked:

[Question] The Labor Party may be the party most affected by the return of the New Wafd Party to resume its activity. Do you see the possibility of a merger of a coalition between the two parties or do you see the possibility of a split in the Labor Party, with a splinter group wishing to merge or form a coalition with the New Wafd?

[Answer] Truly, these possibilities did not occur to my mind when al-Wafd declared the resumption of its activity or its wish to resume its activity. I thought that this move was a positive move that would be beneficial to political life, especially since the situation has reached a point of undesirable inactivity, particularly insofar as the position of the opposition parties vis-a-vis the recently-issued undemocratic election law is concerned. I imagined none of the interpretations speaking of merger and coalition because I am accustomed to dealing with current positions, not to imagining positions in advance.

[Question] We are not talking about advance visualization. We are asking questions connected with the stability of the conditions as they are at present. The idea of merger is raised and the opinions on it vary. So why don't we discuss it?

[Answer] I do not want to depict the situation as you have explained it. We must not exaggerate what is being circulated. I have just had a meeting with Dr Hilmi Murad (this was at noon on 24 August 1983 at Eng Ibrahim Shukri's

office) and Dr Murad's conversation with me has not given me this impression. It is not easy to decide on these issues just because of a conclusion, an analysis or even a statement published in the press. This is something that pertains to the structure of the party itself.

[Question] But the calls for merger or coalition are not in conflict with the party's structure because they raise the idea of the similarity of the two programs.

[Answer] I can say that there is a large degree of similarity between the two programs insofar as the broad lines are concerned. This is perhaps due to Dr Hilmi Murad's participation in formulating both programs. But the issue is not just one of similarity between programs. There are names, personalities and leaders that we must examine. Our parties were not founded on programs alone. There were personalities that led these parties and that had their impact on the activities of the parties. The issue is not one of programs but one of history. There were numerous differences between al-Wafd and Young Egypt before the revolution, even though I want to stress that I do not stop at a certain point in time in our past history. I rather pause at our present position because we cannot censure certain individuals for their actions 30 years ago but must examine their present actions and bring them to account for these actions.

[Question] You have noted that there are certain factors that govern the party's stances toward the main issues, including the national interest and the opinion of the base inside and outside the party. If all these factors turn out to be support of a merger or a coalition, then which would you choose?

[Answer] I don't want to get ahead of things by making a judgment on something like this. Rather, my view of the current situation is: How can we break through the government siege engulfing us without departing from sound principles to which we adhere but rather by overlooking some intellectual differences under the present circumstance, considering that we are facing a more important and urgent issue, namely the issue of democracy.

[Question] In the countries that adopt political multiplicity [multi-party system], parties may reach agreement on the so-called maximum and minimum and form their coalitions according to this principle. Are you personally inclined to adopt coalition in this sense or do you believe that the circumstances dictate that the legal status of the Labor Party be fused within the New Wafd Party?

[Answer] Fusion is not, of course, the right condition. This has nothing to do with my personality but emanates from the assessment of the groups that form the Labor Party bases, and the matter is up to the bases. If these bases in both parties find that it would be better if the two parties became a single party, then I would be the first to approve such a step, regardless of my position in the new organization.

[Question] You have noted that this is not a personal position but a party position. Has such an issue been discussed in the Labor Party?

[Answer] This issue has not been discussed.

[Question] Then how can it be a party, not a personal, position?

[Answer] I am referring, as a general principle, to the call for a united position by the opposition parties while they maintain their independent political structures. The fact is that the reason for the emergencies of these ideas is that people are perplexed as to how to confront the undemocratic government pressure. These ideas may perhaps succeed.

[Question] The issue of partisan commitment is an issue that has been raised repeatedly in the Labor Party, most recently when statements attributed to Dr Hilmi Murad and speaking of merger were published and when disagreement developed within the Labor Party with Dr Hilmi al-Hadidi. What is your position toward these disagreements?

[Answer] Dr Hilmi al-Hadidi's resignation came as a result of an interview given by Dr Hilmi Murad. Dr Hilmi al-Hadidi found the interview to be a deviation from partisan commitment, considering that there are issues that must be discussed within the party and must not be raised outside it. Dr al-Hadidi found that this behavior constituted a deviation from this commitment and that Dr Murad had to clarify his statements with another public interview. But we found that it would be easier for the matter to be settled within the party and Dr Murad did actually clarify his position and most of those present approved his clarification. However, Dr al-Hadidi considered our conduct to be flattering to Dr Murad, in his viewpoint, and resigned.

[Question] In your capacity as the chairman of the party which you have described as the axis of the opposition parties' movement, what advice do you have for the New Wafd Party which is about to resume its activity, if it is permitted to do so?

[Answer] We do not give advice. But we do admit that Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din has tried not to attack the 23 July revolution. This is tantamount to an acknowledgment of the profound change Egypt has witnessed throughout the past 30 years.

This is the story of the merger and coalition storm. Many shadows are still covering its various aspects. The truest reflection of all that has happened so far lies perhaps in what Ibrahim Shukri told me laughingly: Is the value of what has happened, even with al-Wafd's announcement of the resumption of its activity [long] before the merger idea, like throwing a stone in a stagnant pool?

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SPEAKER OF MOROCCAN CHAMBER OF REPRESENTATIVES DISCUSSES ISSUES

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 184, 20-26 Aug 83, pp 35, 37, 39

[Interview with Dey Ould Sidi Baba, Speaker of the Moroccan Chamber of Representatives, by Bahi Muhammad Ahmad; date and place not specified.]

[Text] Mr Dey Ould Sidi Baba, the speaker of the Moroccan chamber of representatives, gave AL-MAJALLAH an exclusive interview in which he dealt with a number of domestic issues, including the issue of the Moroccan Sahara, the plebiscite and the negotiations with the Polisario front and the Arab Occident. He also dealt with some Arab and African issues. Mr Dey Ould Sidi Baba is a member of the executive office of the National Rally of Independents and enjoys the trust of various political currents. For the past 6 years, he has been elected speaker of the chamber of representatives. He is a member of the constitutionally mandated regency council for the throne.

Concerning the current parliamentary experiment in Morocco, Ould Sidi Baba says: "With regard to this, I want to mention the closing address I gave last month at the end of the last session of the chamber. In this address, I said that the representative period of the last 6 years can be considered a noble stage in the parliamentary life of our country, because this chamber performed its duty in the areas of legislation, supervision and foreign relations properly, though the stage was a difficult one. Of course, parliamentary life in any country, especially a developing country, has to know aspects which, though I won't say they are negative, nevertheless show evidence of groping toward the right way or the true path. As you know, we are still at an experimental stage. However, I can say that this representative period was very important in the areas of raising people's consciousness, creating basic forms and establishing practices, because the current chamber of representatives--and this is no exaggeration--lived up to the responsibility entrusted to it.

[Question] The recent local and village elections showed how powerful were the candidates who did not belong to the established parties. How do you analyze this phenomenon?

[Answer] The results of the recent local elections and the phenomenon of people being elected who currently do not belong to the established parties



simply mean that in some areas, especially in the villages, the voters are looking at a person's standing, personal influence and social position more than at the program of a party. A number of people might think it easier to present oneself to the voters as a neutral candidate instead of as someone who belongs to a party. For when a candidate belongs to a political organization, it is only natural that he should find himself faced with candidates from other political organizations. In some areas, there are prominent figures who are quite properly acceptable because of their standing, not because they belong to a given political association. This is one of the reasons why a large number of candidates who are neutral or belong to no party were so prominent. Perhaps there are other reasons.

[Question] Doesn't that mean that the parties' frameworks and structures, as well as their power to convince public opinion, are afflicted by a certain weakness?

[Answer] Of course, the party system is present in a practical and serious way in the large cities. As for the villages, the influence of the political parties is limited there to a certain extent. One can also point to the opinion expressed by some political associations according to which the administration in some areas was more sympathetic to neutral candidates than to those who represented the political associations. However, this opinion was greeted by official bodies with reservation.

[Question] Does this opinion apply to the National Rally of Independents (which is headed by Mr Ahmed Osman)?

[Answer] It seems that all the political organizations expressed this opinion. It reflects a reality, although I would not say that this is a result of a general directive from the administration.

[Question] During the last few years, the Moroccan chamber of representatives has faced a number of political sensitive and important issues about which the parliamentary factions differed. According to some people, these issues revealed the loopholes in the chamber's internal law. Do you think this is true?

[Answer] During the last few years, the Moroccan chamber of representatives has truly faced issues of great importance. The political associations in the chamber, both those in the government's coalition and those in the opposition, take their positions in the light of the principles in which they believe. However, there are fundamental issues on which I believe a consensus always existed. This is especially true of issues having to do with the unity of the country's territory, defense of the national possessions, and loyalty to the throne, as well as working to build democratic thought within the context of constitutional monarchy and social democracy. Issues on which disagreement exists have to do with administering domestic affairs and looking at the social, economic and administrative situation and the way in which related issues can be dealt with. The goal of all these associations is to deal with these affairs with greater seriousness and adherence to the principle of social justice, the removal of class distinctions, and the

combatting of the negative aspects which from time to time crop up in the administration of public affairs. The chamber of representatives and the political organizations found within it always intervened to demand that the administration be reformed and smuggling and tax evasion be combatted. In addition, they demanded encouragement for the policy of achieving more successes in the area of providing utilities, especially in the villages. Many representatives believe that the villages have still not received the attention they should, in comparison with what has been achieved in the great urban centers. Let me point out as well that the political organizations agreed unanimously that it was necessary to revive the reclaimed southern provinces which, as you know, Spanish imperialism left in a bad situation. Thanks to the king's directives, the chamber of deputies set aside for these provinces exceptional resources with which a number of projects have been achieved in seven years, changing the situation in this southern region. Insofar as education is concerned, for example, the number of students in school has increased ten-fold over the number in the Spanish schools in 1975. In addition, education has become Arabic, patriotic and Islamic. As for the internal law of the chamber of representatives, I admit that, in the light of the experience of the past few years, certain paragraphs look like they need some revision for the sake of improving the way committee sessions and general sessions are conducted. We are now preparing a report on the points which need to be improved, so that the next chamber will be able to consider them and then mold in their light the reform measures needed to confront the representatives who do not excuse their absences.

#### Unity of the Arab Maghreb

[Question] What is your view of the situation in the Arab Maghreb following the recent meeting and contacts between its leaders?

[Answer] As you know, the Kingdom of Morocco has always believed in the idea of the Arab Maghreb. It waged a bitter struggle and made great sacrifices for the sake of this idea, both during the battle for liberation in North Africa and after the peoples of the region gained their independence. The positions of King Muhammad V, may God grant him peace, and of King Hasan II after him, always have boldly supported the realization of this demand, which the peoples of the Arab Maghreb have called for through the ages. If the idea of achieving the unity of the Arab Maghreb has been forgotten or neglected somewhat in the last few years, this is due to positions taken by other parties who based their stance on ideological considerations or side conflicts which we believe the idea of the Arab Maghreb can dispense with. We do not want to assign responsibility or blame, especially since the page of this struggle is about to be turned once and for all. If it is fated that the unity of the peoples of the Arab Maghreb be achieved some day, it will occur only on the basis of mutual respect, non-interference in others' affairs, and the recognition of each country's sovereignty over its territory. Moreover, the unity of the Arab Maghreb must be achieved gradually, lest we fall into the same errors others in the Arab nation have fallen into, through improvisation, hurrying, a lack of realism, and allowing a flood of emotions to control them.

We in Morocco expect good from the meeting which took place between King Hasan II and Algerian President Chadli Benjedid, because it gave the peoples of the region reason to hope that what they had been constantly dreaming of would be realized: the return to the era of recuperation, brotherhood and cooperation.

All we must do is be optimistic and look to the future in a positive way, for building the Arab Maghreb will make this region an effective power active within the Arab nation and in confronting the fateful issues which impose themselves on our peoples, so that their efforts, exertions and goals in all areas of common interest will be unified and intensified.

Here I ought to say that achieving this power will have a peculiar and historic effect on our relations with Europe and the great economic groups. It will make North Africa an influential group in the confrontation with the enemy and with Zionist expansionism in the Middle East.

#### The Plebiscite in the Sahara

[Question] Will the plebiscite which is supposed to be held at the end of this year be the end of the road for the Sahara issue?

[Answer] You know that King Hasan II did not merely agree to but indeed took the initiative in suggesting that a plebiscite be held in the Sahara. He did so at the first and second Nairobi conferences. We expect this plebiscite to take place under the auspices of the Organization of African Unity before the end of the year. Therefore, the king decided to postpone the parliamentary elections in Morocco so that Moroccans will be able to pay full attention to this great national issue without being distracted by anything else. To be sure, we know that the Polisario will use every way possible to temporize, since they realize already that the result of the plebiscite will do away with the legend they have been repeating at international meetings, namely the legend of the "Saharan people." However, I believe that they cannot stop the wheel of history. The development of events in the Arab Maghreb will bring the Polisario to an end. There is no doubt that the king's speech on Youth Day (9 July), in which he stated that Morocco is forgiving and merciful, and that the country will open its arms to those who went astray or led other sons of the nation astray, so that they can return to their senses and realize the inescapable truth, is a new opportunity for those who wish to return to what is right and to reality.

#### No Negotiations with the Polisario

[Question] What is your view on Libya's position and on its potential for helping to end this problem?

[Answer] The Libyan president's visit to Morocco was a chance to learn his position up close. During his visit, he listened to the views of all the political associations and unions. There is no doubt that he realized that Moroccans agree about this matter unanimously and without exception. I believe that his meeting with the king must have had a positive effect,



especially since he had already announced that Libya had done its duty on the Saharan issue, that this issue was not to be handled by the Organization of African Unity, and that Libya had decided to prepare its forces to confront the Zionist enemy. Of course, all this talk means Libya is ready to enter a new phase of cooperation with the Kingdom of Morocco. In addition to what he heard, we provided the Libyan president with papers and documents which make it clear that Morocco has always been in the Sahara, that the Moroccan liberation army expelled the Spanish forces from 1955 till 1958, and that if it had not been for the Franco-Spanish military alliance, the Saharan issue would have been settled more than 20 years ago in our country's favor. We hope that the documents, papers and data we presented to Libya will be one of the factors which convince that country to change its position on the Saharan issue once and for all.

[Question] How do you think the African summit conference's decision that direct negotiations be held between Morocco and the Polisario can be applied?

[Answer] There is no doubt that Morocco does not intend to negotiate with the Polisario at all. According to our information, the "Committee of Sages" itself is thinking of holding negotiations with both the Polisario and Morocco, and of then announcing what decision it will take in the matter on the basis of these contacts. At any rate, if we're talking about negotiations to achieve a cease-fire, then I must say here that Morocco's armed forces take no action unless they are subjected to aggression. Let me point out that the situation stayed calm for a year and six months until the village of Messeied in Tantan province was attacked on 10 July. The village lies to the north of the area known as the Western Sahara. In my view, the attack on Messeied happened more for propaganda and psychological reasons than for military purposes, because it happened while the Organization of African Unity mission was in Morocco. However, the "price" of this psychological and propagandistic act was enormous, for the Polisario did not have the element of surprise on its side in this battle. In my view, the losses they sustained were not commensurate with the propaganda effect they were trying to achieve through this attack. To put it more precisely, I thought it was a suicide operation.

[Question] Under these circumstances, what role is the Saharan advisory council expected to play?

[Answer] The king has already defined in a special speech the role this council can play by means of manifesting its opinion on all matters having to do with the social and economic issues which are of concern to the Saharan community, its traditions and expectations with respect to the elevation of this region. The members of this council enjoy a position of respect in our southern provinces, and they have a role to play in guiding public opinion, raising the consciousness of the citizenry and directing them.

[Question] In your capacity as a member of the executive committee of the National Rally of Independents, what position does your party take on the national issues, especially the current economic problem?

[Answer] As a member of the executive committee of the National Rally of Independents, I believe that this association's positions vis-a-vis the national issues are characterized by clarity and directness. The rally works with the king's directives and has a political program which demands the mobilization of Morocco's resources in order to defend the nation's territory, the building of a society based on joint responsibility and solidarity, the removal of class distinctions, respect for private property, the encouragement of private initiative, the combatting of the exploitation of influence, the utilization of the administrative apparatus to serve the citizens, so that it is characterized by the necessary respectability, uprightness and competence, the utilization of labor power, especially that of the young people who graduate from the higher institutes and universities, adherence to Islamic values and noble Moroccan morality, and striving to implant democratic thought in the framework of constitutional monarchy. Of course, I cannot mention all the points which the program of the National Rally of Independents contains in this interview.

However, the Rally also believes in the multiplicity of parties and in coexisting and cooperating with all associations which believe in the same principles. As for the current economic problem, it is due to certain circumstances, some of which are beyond Morocco's control. The decline in our mineral and agricultural exports due to protectionist measures in the countries of Europe, the rising cost of imports, especially energy imports, and the dollar's rise are all factors which have caused a kind of stagnation. Naturally, this reflects negatively on the state's resources. Add to that the fact that some Arab oil-producing countries which are supposed to help finance our development programs are also in tough circumstances now, not merely in terms of the decline of their resources, but also in terms of their increasing commitments to other regions of the Arab nation which seemed to them to need help more urgently.

We must note that our country, during the last 7 years, has been carrying out national duties for the sake of defending the country's territory. This has made it necessary to strengthen the means of national defense in order to confront the aggression we have been exposed to in our southern regions.

#### We Hope Egypt Will Return

[Question] The negotiations between Morocco and Spain have faltered and known difficulties. Is the Moroccan side taking a hard position? What are the points of disagreement?

[Answer] In my view, the Moroccan-Spanish negotiations must be freed from the mentality of the past. This seems to be difficult for our northern neighbor Spain. Spain wants the negotiations to be limited to the fishing agreement along, while we want the negotiations to deal with comprehensive cooperation in all areas of economics, technology and culture. We want the current Spanish government to realize that two countries like Morocco and Spain are compelled to cooperate in the interest of their two peoples, which ought to be pursued on the basis of equality. It does not make sense for there to be negotiations only about the aspect of our relationship that is important to

the Spanish economy, while the aspect of importance to the Moroccan national economy is ignored. Liberation from the mentality of the past also calls on Spain to give up its occupation of the two Moroccan cities of Ceuta and Melilla. I must note here that when King Hasan II received the king of Spain, Juan Carlos, 4 years ago, he said in a statement to him that Morocco and Spain were condemned to cooperate in all fields.

[Question] What about the Federation of Arab Parliaments?

[Answer] The council of the Federation of Arab Parliaments met last February, and the speaker of the Moroccan chamber of representatives became the federation's president. Then the general conference was held in Baghdad last May. The role of the organization is to work to implant democratic thought in the Arab nation, to encourage the following of a policy of rapprochement and solidarity among the Arab peoples, and to express at international parliamentary conferences the positions of the Arab states with respect to the Palestinian question, the Iran-Iraq war, international cooperation and disarmament issues. We hope that the Egyptian people's assembly will join our federation as soon as Egypt returns to the Arab ranks and regains its struggling spirit in defense of the Palestinian issue, which is the great cause of the Arabs.

12224

CSO: 4504/564

## DRAWBACKS OF STOPGAP MEASURES TO SOLVE ECONOMIC, POLITICAL PROBLEMS OUTLINED

Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 41, 10 Oct 83 pp 4-6

[Text]

Sudan's President Jaafar Numeiri has opened up old wounds by his introduction of Islamic law. An uneasy balance between the Muslim north and the Christian and animist south that was widely regarded until recently as President Numeiri's supreme political achievement, has been disturbed by what southerners see as the continuation of what they claim is the central government's historical aim of dominating the south. In the past, this policy has led to civil war and the introduction of *sharia* law threatens to do so again.

Nor will the changes be welcomed necessarily in the north. Indeed, since the changes became public, there have been widespread arrests of political opponents of the president, from communists to Muslim Brothers.

President Numeiri's most spectacular act was to set free all 13,000 prisoners because they had not been convicted in Islamic courts in accordance with Islamic laws. Out came thieves and murderers, some of them under sentence of death and awaiting execution. Political prisoners were also released, including Tijani al-Tayeb Babiker, former leader of Sudan's communist party. All were given SL 100 (\$75) "to start a new life."

Convicted criminals henceforth face Islamic punishments for their crimes: flogging for minor offences, amputation of the hand for thieves, stoning to death for adultery, death by beheading for murder if the victim's family will not accept payment of blood money, etc. President Numeiri likewise banned alcohol, pouring a can of beer into the Nile as the signal for some \$5 million worth of whisky, wines and other alcoholic beverages to be dumped into the river.

The jails did not stay empty for long, however. Sadiq al-Mahdi, leader of the Ansar sect of Muslims and a former Prime Minister, was arrested two days after he delivered a sermon in which he criticised the President's method of bringing in Islamic law. Altogether, 13 Islamic notables were detained, according to reports from Khartoum. They included Mr Mahdi's fellow Ansar Omer Nur al-Daiem and Yassin Omer, a member of the Muslim Brotherhood and the former editor of *Al-Ayyam*, Khartoum's leading daily newspaper.

Mr Mahdi was reported to have criticised the President for the wholesale release of thieves and murderers and, according to Beirut's left-wing daily *As-Safir*, for "secret contacts with Israel and imperialism." The precise nature of these secret contacts was not spelled out. However, Mr Mahdi has been a long-time critic of President Numeiri's security powers, his strongly pro-Western foreign policy and hostility towards Libya's Colonel Moammar Qadhafi. He also has reservations about Sudan's charter for political and economic integration with Egypt, because of the latter's peace treaty with Israel.

Why should President Numeiri be taking political risks with the south at this time? After all, the consequences of disturbing the security of the region would severely jeopardise Sudan's infant oil industry, which is expected to start production for export in 1986. Not only has oil exploration required very heavy investments by foreign companies, but the poor management of the nation's agriculture has left the export of oil as the country's only short-term economic hope.

The amounts already invested in the recovery of oil have been considerable. Chevron, an affiliate of the Standard Oil Co of California (SOCAL) and the leading company, has already spent some \$500 million on exploration and is committed to a further \$400 million as its share in a \$1 billion pipeline running 1,440 kilometres from the oilfields in the south and southwest of the country to Mersa Numeiri, the new \$120 million oil terminal to be built 25 kilometres south of Port Sudan on the Red Sea.

The Sudanese government has a similar share in the pipeline and is negotiating a \$285 million loan from an European syndicate, as well as up to \$350 million in suppliers' credits to the project.

Oil has been a key factor in unbalancing north-south relations and it is not an exaggeration to suggest that these considerable investments are being placed in jeopardy by these fast-deteriorating relations. A number of southern dissident groups have survived since the end of the civil war in 1972; they have attracted support from former servicemen and political dissidents wanting greater regional autonomy and they have already attacked key installations in the southern region. Although there is apparently no central command, these groups — broadly termed Anyanya Two, after the Anyanya rebels who fought against the north in the civil war — have had the tacit support of Ethiopia, where many of their base camps are located. A recent report from Addis Ababa said there were an estimated 25,000 Sudanese refugees in Ethiopia. Many of these are rebel fighters; some are Ansar supporters of Sadiq al-Mahdi who fled to Ethiopia after they failed to overthrow President Numeiri in a coup in 1976.

The army and the police have come under fire and trains and lorries have been attacked, their drivers killed and the goods they were carrying stolen. There have also been attacks on economic targets, including the Chevron exploration operations in the southern region and the Jonglei Canal project, which will be the longest man-made



canal in the world when it is completed. Equipment and supplies have been stolen and personnel intimidated and warned off.

In January of this year, there was serious fighting between the rebels and the army, in which there were dozens of casualties on both sides. The clashes followed an attack upon an aircraft containing foreign aid workers and the kidnapping of a team of aid workers.

Southerners say they have been denied consistently their share of economic development and foreign aid. One example of this, they claimed, was President Numeiri's decision in 1981 to change the proposed location of a \$1 billion oil refinery, from Bentiu in the oilfield in the south, to Kosti, in the north. Considerations of political stability played their part in the decision, but the fact that there were sound economic and technical reasons for the change did not soften southern resentment. (Last year, the refinery proposal was scrapped altogether in favour of the export pipeline.)

The ease with which Southern sensibilities were overridden on the refinery issue was but one example of a general issue that had already inflamed the central government's relations with the south. This was a campaign led, ironically, by the former southern rebel leader, General Joseph Lagu, to break the power base of the Dinka, the dominant tribe in the region, by dismantling the semi-autonomous southern government and parliament and introducing a lower-tier of local government by dividing the region into three new provinces. The campaign was supported by the central government, with some of its members seeing it as a way of containing southern hostility to its oil policy; others saw it as an opportunity to overcome southern resistance to Islam and Arabic.

The constitutional basis for the establishment of the semi-autonomous government and parliament was the agreement signed in Addis Ababa in 1972 which ended 17 years of civil war. Under the terms of the agreement, changes in the southern administration required two-thirds support of a referendum in the region and three-quarters support of the national parliament in Omdurman. Neither of these conditions was fulfilled and, despite considerable opposition to the proposed changes, the regional government and assembly have been dissolved and the new tier of government introduced. The Addis Ababa Agreement, once widely trumpeted as a triumph of African diplomacy and as a model for other multi-ethnic communities on the continent, was thus emasculated.

There is no doubt that President Numeiri's determination to Islamise Sudan reflects his own genuine religious commitment. Although he took power in 1969 with a reputation as a left-wing radical, within two or three years – and in particular following a communist-supported attempted coup in 1971 – President Numeiri has sloughed off his youthful socialism and in recent years has assumed the mantle of a Muslim elder statesman. He has made several well-publicised pilgrimages to the Holy Places and written two books on the why and how of Islamisation.

But there are political and economic considerations, too. Sudan's economy is in dire straits and is heavily dependent upon financial support from the West. In recognition of its strategic position underpinning Egypt, which has been acknowledged increasingly since the signing of the Camp David Agreements in 1978, Sudan has received large amounts of foreign aid, especially from the US and Europe. Indeed, after Egypt, Sudan is the major recipient of US aid in Africa. Saudi Arabia has also helped to prop up Sudan by financing oil imports and military supplies. This support has not been especially generous, but it has strengthened political ties between the two countries. There is also considerable Saudi Arabian investment in the growing number of Islamic banks in Khartoum, as well as in agriculture and livestock.

The two countries also have similar views on the Middle East and other foreign policy questions. Sudan regards this continued support as vital, and it is an open secret that Saudi Arabia has for a long time urged President Numeiri to increase Islamic observance, particularly by banning gambling and alcohol. The state lottery was discontinued some years ago, and now alcohol is banned.

King Fahd of Saudi Arabia was among the first to congratulate President Numeiri on the change and he has promised any and all assistance required to implement it. This is likely to include financial assistance, the importance of which can hardly be over-emphasised.

Despite the heavy inputs of foreign aid in the past and repeated attempts to reduce the \$1 billion trade gap by cutting down imports, Sudan's economic position is on the brink of bankruptcy. Foreign earnings in 1982 were not expected to exceed \$300 million. Foreign debt has reached \$8 billion and attempts to re-schedule repayments have not so far shown any success. The largest source of foreign exchange in recent years has been the earnings of Sudanese working in the Gulf. But this has never reached more than \$250 million, and with fears about the economic situation in Sudan and the decline in numbers of expatriates employed in the Gulf, this figure is expected to decline.

Solutions to Sudan's economic crisis proposed by the International Monetary Fund have led to a considerable rise in the cost of living, as subsidies on staples such as flour and sugar have been removed and prices allowed to go up in an attempt to encourage local production. In January last year, the increase in the price of sugar led to student demonstrations throughout the principal towns of the north in which 26 persons died. The demonstrations did not attract popular participation; nor, crucially, were they backed by the Muslim Brother leadership of the students unions.

There is an unwritten understanding between the Muslim Brothers and President Numeiri: in return for a place in the government, the movement would not take to the streets. This undertaking has been maintained. Dr Hassan el-Turabi, the Brotherhood leader, was Attorney-General until earlier this year, when he was made the Pres-

ident's adviser on legal and constitutional affairs and more lately for foreign affairs. There can be little doubt that against a background of worsening economic problems, domestic political stability will depend increasingly upon the support of those who until now have been regarded as opponents of the government.

Most important among these are the Muslim Brotherhood, who have pursued a strategy of recruiting in the higher secondary schools and universities and among the elite professions, such as the law and teaching; the Brotherhood has also found new members among Sudan Railways workers, senior civil servants and some junior army officers.

The Sudanese leader is caught in a political dilemma of no mean proportions. President Numeiri took power in 1969 to break a political deadlock that had come about largely because the central government had refused to reach a political settlement with the southern rebels that gave due recognition to their singular cultural and political identity. Fourteen years later, the depth of Sudan's economic crisis is leading President Numeiri to throw away that achievement. For the sake of short-term political stability he has strengthened his alliance with the Muslim Brotherhood and is trying once more to bring the south under the tighter control of the central government. But this could be a recipe for disaster and it threatens to destroy the political stability upon which Sudan's economic recovery would depend.

CSO: 4500/8

## ITALIAN FIRM AWARDED PIPELINE CONTRACTS

Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 41, 10 Oct 83 p 4

[Text]

A consortium led by the Italian company Snamprogetti has been awarded two contracts for the construction of a 1,440-kilometre twin-pipeline and related processing facilities in Sudan, Energy and Mining Minister Shari' el-Tuhami announced this week. The pipeline, which is expected to be in service in 1986, will carry Sudan's first crude oil to a new oil terminal to be built on the Red Sea coast. The second, smaller-gauge pipeline will carry refined products from the Port Sudan refinery into the country for local consumption. It will also carry a dilutant to be injected into the crude to facilitate its flow. The processing plant will be built near Bentiu in the southwest of the country, where the leading exploration company, Chevron, has its field headquarters. In the first stage of its operation, the pipeline will have a capacity of 50,000 b/d; but this can be increased to 170,000 b/d if new finds warrant expansion.

The announced value of the contracts is \$380 million, although the total estimate for the whole oil-export project is \$960 million. While technical and logistical considerations are likely to have been important in allocating the contract, more important will have been the accompanying financial package and the proportion of commercial to concessionary financing offered.

Apart from Snamprogetti (which is a subsidiary of the Italian state oil company ENI), the consortium includes Saipem (another ENI subsidiary), Chiyoda of Japan and the US-Saudi joint venture, Tafrab (in which the American engineers Reading and Bates have an interest).

CSO: 4500/8

## COUNTRY SEEKING TO BORROW FROM INTERNATIONAL BANKS

Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT &amp; MEMO in English No 39, 26 Sep 83 p 5

[Text]

Tunisia is seeking to borrow \$120 million from international banks, according to a report quoting banking sources in Bahrain. The funds are to be raised through the Banque de Developpement Economique de Tunisie and the Compagnie Financière Immobilière et Touristique. The two agencies have requested banks to place bids to raise the money, either through a syndicated loan or through a package involving a \$60 million loan and a \$60 million issue of floating rate notes. The deal will be guaranteed by the Tunisian government.

Tunisian Prime Minister Mohammed Mzali recently revealed that the Tunisian economy had grown at a rate of only 1.5 per cent in 1982, compared with an average of 5-6 per cent in previous years (*An-Nahar Arab Report & MEMO*, September 5-12). He blamed the stagnation on inflation, a drop in commodity prices and debt problems. Acknowledging that Tunisia had had to resort to international borrowing to ride out its current difficulties, Mr Mzali stressed that his country had a good record of debt repayment.

The last time Tunisia borrowed on the international market was in February this year, when it signed a \$125 million loan agreement providing for an interest rate of 1/2 per cent over LIBOR for dollars. Bahrain bankers were quoted last week as saying that Tunisia, which wants to borrow at least part of the funds for eight years, would probably not be able to achieve such favourable terms this time. They said banks would be more chary because of question marks about Tunisia's foreign exchange reserve position and because Morocco's request to reschedule its medium and long term debts has affected their assessment of the creditworthiness of Maghreb countries.

CSO: 4500/7



## POLITICAL INFIGHTING WITHIN PSD, OPPOSITION DESCRIBED

London AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL in English No 19, 21 Sep 83 pp 7, 8

[Text]

**TUNISIA: MZALI'S BATTLES.** Political rivalry within the ruling *Parti Socialiste Destourien* (PSD) and among the various opposition groupings is about to intensify in the race to assure the succession of ailing octogenarian President Habib Bourguiba.

Without totally upsetting the delicate balance among PSD clans, prime minister Mohammed Mzali has managed to chalk up some important points in recent months. His head-on clash over economic policies with minister of planning and finance Manouar Moalla led to the latter's dismissal in mid-June. Moalla argued that the economy was performing badly and that strict austerity was necessary to prevent the slide going so far that the IMF would have to be called in. He also sought to push through a reform of the fiscal system which would have taken a big bite out of the wealth amassed by the budding Tunisian bourgeoisie over the past decade. Mzali, on the other hand, is more preoccupied with political and social realities: above all he is intent on preventing a repetition of trade union protest, while consolidating his position in the succession imbroglio. Therefore, he pushed for increasing salaries and blocking prices.

Mzali's victory is tempered by the fact that Moalla is basically a maverick in Tunisian politics without a powerful clan behind him. More significant was the scuttling of the minister of information Tahar Belhodja, who had disturbed Mzali's tactics by playing the liberalisation game to the hilt in the press. Criticism from opposition groups to Mzali's policies began to be highly embarrassing to Mzali. Once a bright star in the clan of Madame Wasilla Bourguiba, the president's influential wife, Belhodja has been in political eclipse over the past two years. His elimination, therefore, is not greatly significant in terms of the developing battle between Mzali and Madame Bourguiba, since for some time she has withdrawn support for him.

For the first time since he became prime minister in 1979 Mzali is in a position to place his faithfuls in key cabinet posts. Ismail Khelil, former ambassador to the United States and World Bank administrator was named minister of planning. It is hoped that he can curry the favour of officials in Washington to provide Tunisia with the financial backing required during the next few years. Khelil is from the militant Gafsa mining region and it is hoped too that he can keep this troubled region calm. Appointed to the ministry of finance was Sala Ben M'Barka, who is particularly close to Mzali. And the ministry of information is now assuredly under Mzali's control through the appointment of his protégé Abderrazak Kefi as minister of information.

This breakthrough for Mzali however, has its dangers for his future ambitions. Through he now has control over economic

policies his knowledge of economics is highly circumscribed. If the economy should take a turn for the worse and austerity becomes inevitable, he will have to take the blame.

A significant longer-term phenomenon is the subtle alliance between Mzali and the hard-line minister of equipment Mohammed Sayeh which succeeded in unseating Moalla. As suggested in AC Vol 23 No 21, this alliance, judged as highly unlikely in many quarters, could play a pivotal role.

This recent wave of political turbulence took place during the prolonged absence of Madame Bourguiba from Tunisia. Upset by the drift of events, she left Tunisia for four months, her longest stay abroad ever. In this sort of way she maintains constant pressure on the president and can cement foreign alliances for her own plans for post-Bourguiba Tunisia. She spent much time in France, where the Tunisian ambassador Hedi Mabrouk is a faithful, and in Saudi Arabia. Mzali even flew to Riyadh to plead with her to comeback to Tunisia. She finally returned at the beginning of August for the president's birthday celebration.

There are signs that she is more determined than ever to clip Mzali's wings. Within the government and PSD as well as the *Union Générale des Travailleurs Tunisiens* (UGTT) she can count on considerable support. Her key man in the cabinet remains the powerful minister of the interior, Driss Gaiga. Foreign minister Beji Caid Essebel is also a close associate, and helps her maintain links with moderate opposition forces. Hocine Ben Gaddour is her liaison man in the trade union movement and with Libya's Col. Muammar Gaddafi. In Paris she can also count on the discreet assistance of Béchir Ben Yahmed, *Jeune Afrique* director. In the security forces she has tactical alliances with numerous potentates: Manouar Skhiri, director of the *Sûreté Nationale*; Amour Guedira, head of the national guard; and Ahmed Benneour, who is influential in police ranks. Madame Bourguiba's clan is centered on the Greater Tunis region.

In his efforts to undercut Madame, Mzali can be expected to make a renewed effort to gain support from the centre-left opposition. For example, though he has not managed yet to have the *Mouvement des Démocrates Sociaux* (MDS), under the direction of lawyer Ahmed Mestiri, officially recognised, we understand that he will intensify his efforts during the next few weeks. Such a recognition would enable him to boost his popular support by reinforcing his liberal image. Since Mestiri's party is well-implanted in the Tunis area it would provide him with a valuable counterforce to Madame's political machine in the capital.

OIL COMPANY OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED ON GROWTH

Baghdad AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 9 Aug 83 p 4

[Interview with 'Assam 'Abd-al-Rahim al-Jalbi, undersecretary of the Ministry of Oil for Extraction Affairs, by AL-JUMHURIYAH: "Iraqi National Oil Company, High Capability to Continue Various Oil Activities"; date and place not specified]

[Text] The Iraqi National Oil Company has become one of the symbols expressing the potential to achieve economic independence, especially in light of its advanced leadership role in achieving the direct national utilization of oil resources in a decisive stage in the history of the struggle against foreign monopolies which dominated our people's resources for half a century.

This role has continued over the subsequent years, and will include the stage after the aggressive, racist, expansionist war imposed upon our people, which has among its goals stopping the development progress and smashing the supports of the revolutionary experiment, which has taken into consideration the need for constant reinforcement of the country's national independence. This is a guarantee of its being mounted on a firm base that can never be upset.

In order to clarify that developmental dimension in the Iraqi National Oil Company's activities, we met with 'Assam 'Abd-al-Rahim al-Jalbi, under-secretary of the Ministry of Oil for extraction affairs, president of the company, and we raised a number of questions in the context of discussible possibilities under present circumstances.

The Dimension Continues for Accomplishment

[Question] The Iraqi National Oil Company has embodied continuous activity and accomplishment, which the aggression aims at suspending as a part of the attempts to smash the supports of national independence in our country. What are the most prominent facts to express this progressive aspect?

[Answer] Despite the continuation of the racist, expansionist aggression imposed upon our people, now in its 3rd year, and the exposure of our economic activities, especially as concerns oil, to aggressive practices

of whatever kind, the company has continued to do everything it can to continue its activities, in accordance with its plans and programs. In this regard, production operations have continued, along with the exporting of crude oil from numerous deposits and fields as circumstances and current changes dictate. With regard to the drilling of exploratory, evaluative and developmental wells, with mostly national drilling rigs, this continued, while the necessary actions were being taken to reconsider future plans, especially as regards the development of production fields and exporting operations, as well as continuing seismic surveys in numerous areas of the country.

On another matter, the company has been able to operate all of the crude oil tankers belonging to the Iraqi oil fleet, some 15 tankers in all with a gross cargo capacity of 1.5 million dead-weight tons. This was done in such a way as to achieve economic returns at this stage of the aggressive war imposed upon our people.

It is worth noting that the continuity of activity and the company's carrying on of its activities is being done with a staff that is more than 40 percent less than it was before the war.

#### Bolstering Production Efficiency

[Question] Production and service organizations have adopted all the measures which could guide consumption, improve the use of resources and bolster productivity. What about the applications of this in the Iraqi National Oil Company?

[Answer] Perhaps one of the principal directives, which has intensified efforts for its accomplishment during this year, considered a year earmarked for implementing the president's directives, pertains to a reconsideration of organizational structures and improvement in the employment of staffs and the guiding of expenditures. The Iraqi National Oil Company has abolished a number of administrative units and has redistributed their functions throughout a lesser number of units. It has also reconsidered its operational budget and has reduced it by a minimum of more than 25 percent, through trimming or reducing a number of items which in fact represented nuisance aspects of the work. It has instituted a policy of ideal usage of materials, especially those used for drilling purposes, on the company level and not on the organization of facility level. A central committee has been formed to supervise the use of these materials when needed. In the past, each organization has relied on its own storage alone, and the value of materials in circulation through this method during                    is estimated at more than \$100 million. A similar committee was recently formed to supervise heavy and other similar types of equipment.

A re-inventory was also done on all the company's storage facilities within a policy of reducing storage items, especially those with little or no movement. We are currently making contact with a number of

governmental organizations in order to hand over a part of this material. A new study was also done on the method of operating the crude oil tankers, especially as regards their operating costs pertaining to fuel, crews and foodstuffs. This led to a drop in the cost of operating the tankers.

One of the important matters that should be stressed is the preventive maintenance of production facilities and heavy equipment not in operation temporarily due to the war of aggression.

#### Adjusting Tasks

[Question] War circumstances have dictated the need to make possible evaluations of adjustments in the company's activities in general. What are you doing in this regard?

[Answer] The process of reconsidering the totality of company functions is one of the ways used to make the necessary adjustments to go along with the new circumstances as a result of the continuation of the aggressive war against our people. Apart from that, the company has taken rapid actions to expand the capacity of the Iraqi-Turkish pipeline and has signed all the contracts pertaining to engineering works, supply functions and the implementation necessary to increase the capacity of the line and the pumping through the pipe. It is hoped that the first successful results will appear shortly, and the final stage to increase the line's capacity will be completed at the end of the first quarter of next year.

#### Pan-Arab Participation

As for company participation on the pan-Arab level, it still continues. One of its important functions was represented by the sending of a seismic team to drill for oil in Jordan for the first time in the company's history. The team has been pursuing its work since the beginning of June, and excellent progress is being made. Note that it has sent the specialized technical cadres and all the equipment required for this task. Iraq is giving Jordan this assistance without charge. It is expected that this team will be able to achieve positive and tangible results.

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The Iraqi National Oil Company, within its structural organization, is composed of the following units:

- Northern Petroleum Organization
- Southern Petroleum Organization
- State Organization for Oil and Gas Exploration
- State Organization for Oil Tankers
- Middle Petroleum Organization

In addition, the company headquarters is composed of the following specialized offices:

- Office of Machines and Field Development
- Office of Drilling

7005

CSO: 4404/8



## IRAN WARNED AGAINST DAMAGING PIPELINE

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 185, 27 Aug-2 Sep 83 pp 37-38

[Article by Ilyas Harfush: "The Truth About the Turkish Role in the Gulf War; Turkey Warned Iran not to Hit the Iraqi Oil Pipeline"]

[Text] Ever since the Iraqi-Iranian war broke out 3 years ago, Turkey has been one of the countries in the region most concerned about it and fearful of its consequences because of its geographic location and the good relations that link Turkey to the two neighboring countries. It was a coincidence that the new Turkish regime, that came to power in the wake of a military coup in September, 1980, followed the war between Iraq and Iran from the outset and got used, after 3 years, to dealing with the state of war as a "matter that one must live with." The Turks arranged their political and economic relations with Iran on this basis.

In an interview a year ago with Turkish Foreign Minister Mr Ilter Turkmen, I asked him what effect the Iraqi-Iranian war had on Turkey and whether his government was ready to mediate between the two countries. The [foreign] minister said that his country was unable to undertake a unilateral mediation, "but it is necessary that Iraq's and Iran's friends do something to stop this war." Ever since that time, Turkey has appeared most concerned about the continuation of this war because its prolongation can pose a danger to Turkish interests and security along the southeastern borders. Moreover, Turkish officials fear the effects a decisive Iranian military victory can have on the internal political situation in Turkey itself and the possible favorable response by some extremist Turkish factions to the Islamic revolution's calls in Iran. Turkish President Kenan Evren, in an interview with AL-MAJALLAH, said, commenting on that: "Relations between Turkey and Iran are relations of friendship and good neighbors. Nothing going on in Iran can affect Turkey's domestic policy because the Turkish people believe that political affairs and religious issues are not interlinked." But, Turkish authorities, at the same time, intensified their internal security measures against extremist movements whose political calls are sympathetic to the Iranian regime.

During the last two weeks, and with the expansion of the Iraqi-Iranian front in the direction of the Turkish borders, officials' worry in Ankara over the consequences and complications began to grow. The Kurdish role in the border region is a threat to Turkey, and to Iraq and Iran as well. Also, Turkey senses the danger of the Iranian threat to hit the oil pipeline that carries Iraqi oil across Turkish territory to the Mediterranean Sea.



Amidst these threats, Turkish Foreign Minister Ilter Turkmen warned that "warring countries must not allow their conflicts to threaten other countries." AL-MAJALLAH has learned from Turkish diplomatic sources that high-level official contacts took place between Turkey and each of Iraq and Iran with a view to keeping the fight away from Turkish borders. These sources said that Turkish officials warned an Iranian envoy visiting Ankara that "they will be forced to adopt a clear stance towards the Iranian threat if it is carried out." [Foreign] Minister Turkmen received a message from Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akhbar Velayati attempting, Turkish said, "to convince Turkish officials that Iran's intentions towards them are good."

#### Warning to Iran

Turkish-Iranian contacts were preceded by a meeting between Turkish President Gen Kenan Evren and senior officials in Ankara and the Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Tariq 'Aziz. 'Aziz conveyed to Evren a message from President Saddam Husayn, asking him, according to Turkish diplomatic sources, to strengthen Turkish protection of the oil pipeline extending from Kirkuk in the Kurdish region of Iraq to the Turkish Yumurtalik Port on the Mediterranean. This line transports 35 million tons of oil annually and is considered a major resource in the economies of each of Turkey and Iraq. It yields \$250 million a year for Turkey in the form of transit fees, besides its importance to Iraq as the only pipeline that transports Iraqi oil to the outside, thus allowing Iraq to get hard currency to cover its military expenditures. Arab sides recently sought to persuade Syria to reopen the line that carries Iraqi oil across its territory, but these endeavors did not lead to positive results because of Syrian refusal.

Turkish officials find themselves in a critical situation at this stage. They are eager to maintain their neutral position on the war, on the one hand, but believe that its consequences and effects are getting closer to their borders and their interests, on the other hand. And, at a time when President Evren and his aides informed Iraqi officials that the Turkish army is unable to do more than its part in protecting the Iraqi-Turkish borders, Turkish sources mentioned that a review of this position is a possibility in light of war developments on the southern front (south Turkey). Therefore, officials in Ankara made it clear to the Iranian side that they would not allow their interests to be threatened because of developments in the war. Hashimi Rafsanjani, Iranian "Council" chairman and Khomeyni's representative in the Supreme Defense Council, replied to this Turkish "clarification"--which has assumed the form of a warning to Iran--by saying, "We have continually expressed our concern with this matter and have tried many times to spare the neighboring countries the consequences of this war. Turkey is not involved in this war and does not trouble us; our relations with it are good. We do not believe that we pose a danger to Turkey's interests in this region."

Informed western diplomatic sources believe that the Iranians sensed the seriousness of the Turkish position on the war developments in the wake of the Turkish army strike last June in the Kurdish area along Turkey's borders with Iraq. Although the Turks said at the time that the strike was aimed at

"separatist Kurdish elements and a group of rebellious guerrillas," available information AL-MAJALLAH obtained from experts in Iraqi affairs indicate, however, that most Kurdish victims of this battle were followers of Kurdistan Democratic Party [KDP] leader Mas'ud al-Barzani who has broken away from the Iraqi regime and is allied with the Iranians. Al-Barzani has accused the Turkish and Iraqi armies of "coordinating" a joint strike against the Kurds, saying that some Turkish army units remained inside Iraqi territory after the operation. The Iraqi side denied al-Barzani's allegation and Turkish officials affirmed to AL-MAJALLAH that "the Turkish army is protecting Turkish territory and Turkish borders only, and it is not its task to protect the territory of neighboring countries." Turkish officials also said that the operation conducted in the Kurdish region was not coordinated with Iraq and should not be considered a link in the Iraqi-Iranian war developments. This operation took place after Turkish soldiers subject to an ambush in the Kurdish area that claimed a number of dead and wounded, including a number of officers. About 4,000 soldiers took part in the operation, according to informed sources. The Turkish foreign minister, however, visited Baghdad after the operation to apprise Iraqi officials of its objectives and results. The Iraqi ambassador to Ankara, Mahmud al-Qaysi, mentioned that the operation took place "with cooperation" of the Iraqi and Turkish Governments. Observers have noted that, despite the fact that the Turkish operation was mainly directed against Iran's allies in the Kurdish region, Iranian officials avoided any criticism of Turkey and were satisfied instead with accusing Iraq "of failure to protect its borders."

#### "Neutrality" in War

Notwithstanding recent developments in the war and analyses of the western press on the closeness of Iraqi and Turkish interests in the confrontation with Iran at this stage, Turkish officials are still eager to reaffirm that their position remains unchanged, that is, neutral and desirous of bringing a quick end to this war. A Turkish ambassador to a Gulf country said in an interview with AL-MAJALLAH that his government hoped that the two sides would not involve it any more in their war and would avoid threatening Turkey's interests. The ambassador said: "If it is our principle not to threaten the safety and security of any of our neighbors, we do not accept anyone threatening our security, and we will strongly retaliate. And, if the Turkish army remains inside Turkey's borders, it can not keep up this position if it feels that its borders are threatened." The ambassador pointed out that Kurdish operations along the borders are the source of the threat and that the Turkish Government was greatly worried over the recent conflict in the Kurdish region between Iraq and Iran. He confirmed that military operations were over in that region because of this Turkish position. He also confirmed that the Turkish army adopted security measures on its part in order to protect the oil pipeline coming from Kirkuk. He said: "We hope that the Iraqis have adopted the same measures inside their borders." At the same time, the Turkish ambassador denied that his government wished to undertake any kind of mediation between Iraq and Iran at the present time, saying: "I don't see any practical meaning to mediation at present. Contacts (that have been taking place between the governments of the two countries are aimed at protecting Turkey's interests and not at mediating an end to the conflict."

Ankara's eagerness to remain neutral in the Iranian-Iraqi conflict has its reasons and justifications. Besides, Turkish officials' interest in maintaining good relations with Iraq and the other Gulf states, they are also keen on preserving their good economic and trade relations with Iran. Turkish officials are eager to stop the Iranian revolution from extending into their territory. The Ankara Government believes that its good relations with Iran not only serve Turkey and the region, but also the interests of the West as well. A Turkish official told AL-MAJALLAH: "Of course, we are facing difficulties in dealing with the Iranian regime, but isolating this regime is against our interests and can push Iran towards the Soviet Union." Turkey's exports to Iran amount to \$800 million annually; its imports of Iranian oil do not exceed \$750 million, and this amount could drop this year, due to lower oil prices. Turkish officials estimate that their exports to Iran during the next few years will reach \$1 billion. Because of the "good" relations between Turkey and Iran, Iranian officials agreed on Ankara as the place to exchange prisoners with Iraq last April. That was the second time prisoners were exchanged between the two countries since the war began. Observers note that Iranian statements avoid condemning Turkey for its good relations with the United States and the western camp, while they are not so careful when it comes to other countries friendly to the United States.

Within the framework of Turkish eagerness to maintain good relations with each of Iraq and Iran, officials in Ankara are fearful of the dimensions of recent developments in the war. When Foreign Minister Ilter Turkmen was asked last week whether the almost daily contact with the Iranians and the Iraqis were cause for alarm concerning the Turkish role and possible involvement in the war, he replied: "On the contrary, you could have worried had contacts with Baghdad and Teheran not existed. But, since we are talking to them constantly, this means that we both understand that Turkey is not a party to this war, and we want both countries not to make us a party to it.

12502

CSO: 4404/636

## JOURNALIST TOURS READY-MADE CLOTHES FACTORY

Baghdad AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 11 Aug 83 p 4

[Article by Maryam al-Sanati: "First Industrial Project to Produce Ready-Made Clothing; Project Will Use the Most Modern, Technically Advanced Equipment"]

[Excerpts] After an exhaustive study of the local market's ready-made clothing requirements, the Ministry of Light Industries decided to establish this huge project to satisfy the clothing needs of the citizens. This study resulted in the Ministry of Planning directing the State Organization for Industrial Development to task the joint sector, which the ministry supervises, to lay firm and sound foundations for this project.

In the first quarter of 1980, work began to implement the ready-made clothing project in al-Mahmudiyah.

As for details of the establishment of the project, the beginning of operations and the types of clothing the company produces, we learned all this through the visit prepared by the Ministry of Light Industries for a group of journalists, to learn how the joint sector operates as regards the clothing industry, for which the ministry shows the same considerable concern as it does for the socialist sector.

### On the Company's Grounds

The deputy director discussed the start of construction, operating lines and future developments. The conversation was not limited to this aspect, but also included the type of clothing products that the company offers on the local market and the formula for doing business between them and the authorities marketing the products.

The project is the fruit of joint efforts, since it was established under the guidance of the Ministry of Planning and with the supervision of the State Organization for Industrial Development, which monitors activities of the joint and private sectors.



Work on constructing the project actually began in the first quarter of 1980, and was completed in the second half of 1982. As for the process of installing and testing the machinery, this began in the last quarter of 1983, and actual production in the project began during the celebrations of 7 April this year.

What attracts attention in this project is the large area on which the project was constructed, since it was built on 40 dunums and contains several separate buildings. The project's largest building is the factory, with a floor space of 10,000 square meters, aside from the other buildings that were designed especially to be warehouses to store fabrics and raw materials. These storehouses are equipped with the most modern storage methods, shelves, lifting equipment and alarm systems, along with a modern system for retrieving the raw materials. This is all in accordance with procedures in the most advanced ready-made clothing factories in the Middle East.

#### Initial Training

The company has a training center. This center, as the deputy director told us during our tour, contains about 40 sewing machines and accommodates 50 workers at one time. The period of training in this center is 6 weeks, and it was constructed with some 100 square meters of floor space.

This center is considered a small-scale version of the factory and here begins the process of preparing the workers for the first stage, i.e., the stage of learning the machine up to the period of instruction and preparation to do the actual job inside the factory. "During the period of training, beginners are instructed on all phases of the job that they will be doing in the factory. In the first week, we try to create familiarity between them, the working atmosphere and the machine. We accustom them to dealing with the equipment, in accordance with sound technical principles. Then, after that, we begin to teach them to sew, or rather, how to use the sewing machine.

After the prescribed period in the center, the worker is transferred to the production hall after going through a period of examinations, which are given to the workers after one stage or another.

[Question] Is there an obligatory period of time in the center for beginning workers and those that are experienced in the sewing field?

[Answer] We do not deal with experienced people' we do not benefit from this in the ready-made trade, because all the machines in this company are new and do not require operators except to keep a close watch over them. Moreover, the work, by its nature, is divided into small parts, with the machines doing each part, so that some parts that require moving the machine to complete the sewing are done by the machine and not the operator. The machines used in this project are considered the most modern available to ready-made clothing firms in the world. For these reasons, we prefer a new operator, so that he can start in with our machinery. The results are better.



### On the Production Floor

As we said, the biggest building in the company is the factory. This hall was built on an area of 10,000 square meters. This factory is composed of several sections, including design, program preparations, detail section, sewing and quality control, the initial assembly section, final assembly, ironing and the wrapping section, which is the last process.

The company currently produces men's shirts and pajamas, and has begun to make women's blouses. Men's shirts are currently being produced in four lines, while pajamas are currently made in two lines. The deputy director stated that a shirt goes through 55 stages before finally reaching the market.

This project is considered one of the largest projects in the world because of the advanced machinery and the operating methods. It is designed to operate with a production capacity of up to 1.2 million shirts annually, along with 600,000 pajamas each year.

7005

CSO: 4404/8

# CITIZENS DONATE LAND FOR WAR EFFORT

Baghdad AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 6 Aug 83 p 7

[Article: "Campaign to Donate Residential Land and Funds By the Citizens in al-Dawrah, in Support of the War"]

[Text] The day before yesterday, the al-Dawrah area of Baghdad was the site of an extensive campaign to donate land and funds, as a part of the campaigns being undertaken by people's committees within the geographical jurisdiction of the al-Karkh al-Atraf branch of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, in support of the fighting will and to reinforce the spirit of victory in our sacred battle.

The value of the residential land, whose acreage amounted to 151,030 square meters, donated by those residents of the area who own gardens and farms, was estimated at more than 8 million dinars, with the funds donated amounting to 98,635 dinars.

Hammadi 'Alwan Hammadi al-Jaburi donated 27,500 square meters, and Mahmud 'Alwan Hammadi al-Jaburi also donated 27,500 square meters.

Mrs Rabi'ah Hamd al-'Abd al-Wahid al-Jaburi donated 15,000 square meters, Mrs Balqis 'Alwan Hammadi al-Jaburi donated 13,750 square meters, Mrs Ghaziyah 'Alwan Hammadi al-Jaburi donated 13,750 square meters, and Mrs Nahidah 'Alwan Hammadi al-Jaburi donated 13,750 square meters.

The estate of the late Rahimah 'Alwan Hammadi al-Jaburi, and her sons Malik, Kamal, Lu'ay, and 'Adi, and her daughter Khalidah 'Abdullah Ibrahim al-Jaburi donated 13,750 square meters, and citizen al-Hajj Salman Salim al-Hammadi al-Jaburi, and his sons Azhar, 'Arab and 'Abd-al-Karim, donated 26,030 square meters, in addition to their donation of cash in support of our just struggle. 'Abd-al-Sadah Kandawi donated his 1980 Toyota pickup truck.

Craftsmen and owners of real estate and commercial agencies in the al-Dawrah area, through a popular rally held in the area, attended by Comrade Radi Hasan Salman, secretary of the Abu Ja'afar al-Mansur branch of the party, and the comrade secretary of the al-Karkh al-Atraf branch, donated 160,000 dinars to reinforce the spirit of victory in the glorious battle of Qadisiyah Saddam.

## IRAN'S ATTACK ON NORTHERN FRONT DISCUSSED

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic No 298, 8 Aug 83 pp 16-18

[Text] Three hours after Faruq al-Shar' arrived in Tehran accompanied by a military delegation from the Syrian general staff, the Iranian attack on the northern sector began. Its goal was the forbidding, fortified Iraqi mountain of "Kurdah Mand," on which a small force was located.

While Radio Tehran was filling the world with shouting, Rafsanjani and Iran's ambassador to Turkey came out with statements which the Iraqis greeted with sarcasm. They have become used to hearing lies after every attack. The regime's stars and military leaders began to justify the reasons for the attack's failure. Hashimi Rafsanjani, the chairman of the consultation council, claimed that Iran had occupied Hajj 'Umran and gained control of the Iraqi villages located there. He also said that Iran would gain control of Kirkuk and distribute Iraq's territory and oil to Iranians. He apologized to Turkey, saying that Iran would compensate it with Iraq's oil.

It is well known that the region which the Iranian forces entered in the area of Hajj 'Umran is 250 kilometers from Kirkuk. While the Iranian attack on mount Kurdah Mand was beginning, the mother of Iraqi President Saddam Husayn died. He paid his last respects to his mother and performed the mourning rituals, thereafter heading directly to the northern front. Iraqi television transmitted his meeting with the military commanders and his direct supervision, from the battle field, of the military operations on the northern front. The region is so mountainous, rocky and rough that the roads in it are almost nonexistent in some stretches, especially in the areas close to the Iranian border. It seems the Iranians wanted to try their luck this time in the mountains, after having failed on the plain. From east of Basrah to the summit of Kurdah Mand, which in Kurdish means "the Hill of Sagacity," they have suffered an unbroken string of defeats at the hands of the Iraqi army. They lost their wager in the mountains after having lost it on the plains.

AL-DUSTUR has learned that elements belonging to Iran, who had been forced to leave Iraq and trained in Syria, participated in the Iranian attack on the Iraqi positions. In addition, there were elements from the Iranian al-Da'wah party who had been ejected by the Iraqi people, as well as other elements from among the communists and the group led by Idris and Mas'ud al-Barzani, whom Khomeyni called back to Iran as soon as he took power.

The plan called for an attempt to hold on to the Hajj 'Umrān region, which contains Kurdaḥ Mand, the Iraqi mountain which is like the summit of Lebanon's al-Baruk mountain in the way it commands the region, and the regions of Juman, Ayeneh and Galalah. An advance was to be made from these areas in order to occupy Kirkuk, Iraq's oil capital, while Iranian forces carried out a diversion in the central section of the area of operations and another force was operating in the area of the Misan sector and to the east of Basrah.

There has been a lot of talk among the foreign correspondents about the role played by Israeli military experts in turning the Iranian attack toward this region. Moreover, the correspondents mention that Iran was advised by Syrian officers to undertake a military adventure in the northern sector.

In attacking the northern sector, the Iranians were eager to fool the world into thinking that they had been able to secure a foothold in Iraq. Satellites transmitted a film shot by an Iranian helicopter which shows a few soldiers on top of a mountain. The question is what the value of this operation in military terms, as well as its return, might be. What can this group on a suicide mission do against an army trained in mountain battles for 9 years by its fight against the al-Barzani rebellion?

These people have found themselves in positions isolated from their forces, after having been led there by guides, while the Iranian army has lost the way which leads to them.

At the same time, the special Iraqi forces achieved a great victory in an air landing operation during which position 2519 was taken from the Iranian forces, while the Iraqi losses were barely worth mentioning in military terms. The Iraqis fooled the Iranians into thinking that they were aiming for a certain region. They pulled the Iranians in this direction, then carried out the landing operation with astounding speed and enormous skill. According to the commander of I Corps, Maj Gen Ni'mah Faris al-Mihyawi, the Iraqi losses were 1 dead and 16 wounded. This figure may seem extraordinary when we learn that the Iraqi attack completely overwhelmed the Iranian forces.

The commander of I Corps stated that three quarters of the force of guides was eliminated. These forces had infiltrated the mountains of area 1974 through hidden passes, with the number of enemy forces being estimated at two divisions. The Iranians' losses amounted to 50 percent of their fighting force. The Iranians were unable to achieve any military victory. According to the commander of I Corps: "We are 120 percent superior to the Iranians. Their visible losses were 9821 dead. Their corpses are still filling the valleys."

On the morning of July 30th, three helicopters took us from Diyana to Galalah, which the Iranians claim to have occupied. More than 60 Arab and foreign journalists looked at and toured through the region, making fun of the Iranian claims to have occupied it.

AL-DUSTUR went on this press tour. Commenting on the Iranians' claims to have occupied the region, the commander of I Corps said: "For 3 years, the

Iranians have accustomed us to this kind of idiocy. You can disprove their claims for yourselves."

The journalists toured the region of Galalah, Juman and Ayeneh. In the part of Ayeneh which fronts on the Iranian border, two shells almost hit the correspondents, since the area is exposed to senseless shelling from inside the territory of Iran.

The cohesion between Arabs and Kurds in the battle was magnificent, and morale was very high. The Kurds, numbered at about 80,000 fighters, smiled for the camera and lifted their hands to us in a victory sign, while the Iraqi soldiers did their duty confident of victory.

Although the Kurdish war in northern Iraq became a matter for historians once Iraq began to implement the autonomy law, some Kurdish factions continued to splash around in the brackish water. But why did the sons of al-Barzani ally themselves against Iraq with Khomeyni himself, who slaughters the Kurds every day in Baneh, Sanandaj and Zaradasht, as well as in other places?

Is the goal to liberate the Iraqi Kurds and transfer them to the situation present in Iran which Khomeyni has created for the Kurds there?

If that is how things are, then how do you explain what is happening in Iranian Kurdistan? Why the massacres in Banah, Sanandaj, and other Kurdish cities? Are the remnants of al-Barzani's group considered loyal to the Kurds? In Iraq, the Kurds have gained what no regime has managed to achieve for them. The Iranians' bets failed on both the mountains and the plains, and those who bet that the remnants of al-Barzani's group would succeed have failed, too.

From the start of the attack, the Iraqis were particularly eager to use their air force, concentrating their strikes against Khomeyni's troop concentrations and lines of supply and so paralyzing them. This left Khomeyni's attacking forces without cover and at the mercy of Iraq's forces, both Arabs and Kurds. They proceeded to hunt the Iranians down.

Although the attack on the northern sector was born dead and buried on the spot, Iran also attacked in the central sector to the east of Zarbatiyah, losing more than 5731 dead, whose corpses stayed on the battle field. The Iranians then began a new attack in the same sector, losing 1200 dead.

It is thought that these small attacks are paving the way for their expected attack in the central sector to the east of Mandali and Khanaqi, which will be an attempt to gain control over any bit of Iraqi territory which will bring them closer to the oil.

The corps commander told AL-DUSTUR: "We will slaughter them like lambs if they get close to our positions. They will fail utterly because of Iraq's high level of combat ability and the morale of the victorious Iraqi army, which has not lost a battle. This time, I am getting an appropriate weapon and a wide tomb ready for the Iranians."

12224

CSO: 4404/598



ARAB TOWN COMPLAINS OF BUDGET PROBLEMS

Haifa AL-ITTIHAD in Arabic 16 Aug 83 p 1

[Article: "Ministry of Interior Doubles Its Participation in Development Budgets of Arab Villages"]

[Text] Kafr Yasif--The local council of Kafr Yasif recently received a letter from the deputy governor of the Northern District in which he informed them of the appropriation of 203 million shekels by the Ministry of the Interior for the development budget for the current year. This sum is equivalent to five times the council's appropriation from the Ministry of the Interior for the development budget in the past fiscal year.

I learned from council president Ghamar Mirqas that all of the Arab councils received such an increase as a result of the position of unity which they took with the Regional Presidents Committee, which threatened to take steps if the ministry continued to ignore their fiscal needs in the field of development. The Minister of the Interior had promised a delegation from the Presidents Committee last year to raise ministerial participation in the development budgets by a considerable amount.

The council president said: "This gain is considerable. However, it is not sufficient for our actual needs. The other ministries (Housing, Communications, Energy, Education and Culture) which participate in the development budgets turn their backs on the demands of the local Arab authorities. Only a few of them, especially Education, offer to participate, but in a form which is far from meeting the actual urgent needs.

"As for the 'line of credit' allocated by the Ministry of the Interior, it will not reach the local councils until after the end of the fiscal year, or shortly before it ends. The Ministry of the Interior refuses to release in advance 40 percent of the funds allocated for development in the Arab sector, while it does that for the Jewish local authorities."

The council president added: "Three months ago, our local council approved a development budget for 3 years for 90 million shekels and sent it to all of the ministries and departments which should contribute to this budget, according to the 3-year programs which begin this year. However, these departments have not yet given us a positive response. With our acceptance

of the Ministry of the Interior's share, we have set out to ask these departments, in their capacity of responsibility for local authorities, to raise their share to 30 million shekels so that our council can carry out its development projects for the current year of the Three-Year Development Plan. We also asked them to release 40 percent of the share which they have approved quickly so that we can begin to implement some of the planned work. If this share were released, as has been the practice in the past, then this whole raise would be available, which is especially important in light of devaluation.

7587

CSO: 4404/609

ISRAEL SUGGESTS NATURALIZATION OF PALESTINIANS ABROAD

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 186, 3-9 Sep 83 p 4

[Article by Russel Hawi in Washington: "AL-MAJALLAH Uncovers an Important Secret: Israel Proposed Naturalization of Palestinians in America, Europe, and Other Countries!"]

[Text] AL-MAJALLAH has discovered an important secret, details of which were obtained from reliable sources in the State Department. AL-MAJALLAH learned that Israel secretly proposed to the United States that a large number of Palestinian refugees be settled in that country.

The sources informed AL-MAJALLAH that Israeli Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Defense Minister Moshe Arens during their visit to Washington last month proposed to American officials that the Reagan administration give serious thought to inviting about 50,000 Palestinians now living in Lebanon to emigrate to the United States. Shamir told the officials that Israel believes that if the United States decided to take this step and allow the indicated number of Palestinians to live there, other countries in Europe and Latin America as well as Canada and Australia would follow suit and admit many Palestinians.

According to the Israeli theory, mass emigration of the Palestinians from Lebanon would help the Lebanese government impose its legal authority over Lebanon. However, State Department sources informed AL-MAJALLAH that Secretary Shultz believes the Israelis are mainly concerned with reducing the number of Palestinians who desire to return to their homeland. Informed observers say Israel wants more than that, namely, to solve the Palestinian problem by "naturalizing" them in other countries. These sources compare the Israeli plans in this respect with the plans presented by other countries at different times in the past to "expel" hundreds, indeed thousands of their fellow citizens or residents for a variety of reasons, forcing them to live in other countries and become assimilated in their societies.

What Did Shultz Say?

Informed American sources told AL-MAJALLAH that Shultz indicated to Israeli Foreign Minister Shamir that the United States prefers to solve the Palestine problem on the basis of "Reagan's initiative" announced 1 September 1982

that stipulates tying any sort of Palestinian entity to Jordan. Shultz said he believes a decision to distribute the Palestinian refugees in different parts of the world would be regarded as a retreat from implementation of the Reagan initiative. Informed observers point out that President Reagan said last week that his peace initiative is still in force and alive and that the parties concerned should negotiate within its framework because, according to him, it is the "only realistic basis for producing a solution and achieving peace in the Middle East."

State Department officials believe one of the things that led Israel to think along these lines is that some time ago Shultz asked the Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs to prepare a study on the possibility of inviting a number of Palestinian refugees to the United States, as a sign to demonstrate sympathy for their hardship. Shultz proposed that permission be given for the emigration of 10,000 Palestinians to the United States. However, the Immigration and Naturalization Service rejected the idea on the grounds that in fact several thousand Palestinians come to the United States every year from Lebanon, the West Bank, and other parts of the world.

AL-MAJALLAH learned that Nicholas Veliotis, former assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern Affairs (recently) appointed ambassador to Cairo, said in his recommendation that limiting the number of refugees to 10,000 would raise political objections from the Israeli lobby and some Congressional circles. Veliotis expressed his belief that it is better to continue to admit Palestinian immigrants on the basis of the claims they put forward. Since aliens permanently residing in the United States have the right to bring in relatives, the number of Palestinian immigrants will inevitably increase from year to year and perhaps exceed 10,000.

It is common knowledge that Veliotis was an American ambassador to Jordan sympathetic to the Palestinians. State Department sources told AL-MAJALLAH that Veliotis also indicated in his report which he submitted to Shultz that any action designed to assure the emigration of a large number of Palestinians to the United States and some other countries would not lead to the solution of the Palestinian problem for the great majority of Palestinians. Rather, it would "encourage the other countries to ignore their responsibilities to the Palestinians."

The State Department sources also said the Israeli Embassy in Washington at one time brought up unofficially the matter of "settling" the Palestinian refugees in other countries and asked the United States to admit 50,000 of them. The unofficial State Department reply was that it would be difficult to convince American public opinion of this policy--because of the large number of immigrants from other countries, especially Latin America--at a time when the unemployment rate in the United States was high. The United States admits about a million immigrants legally every year. The number of illegal immigrants from Latin America is estimated at half a million every year. They work for low wages, thereby weakening labor unions in their dealings with employers.

The Palestinian colony in the United States is concentrated in New York, Washington, Houston, and the West coast where the Palestinians are known for their small stores in which they work long hours. Similarly, immigrant families from Puerto Rico and Cuba own small grocery stores in poor sections of New York City as do immigrant families from Korea in Washington. The number of Palestinians who open up similar stores in San Francisco is steadily increasing.

5214

CSO: 4404/6



## GROUP URGES NAZERAT 'ILLIT TO KEEP OUT ARABS

Haifa AL-ITTIHAD in Arabic 25 Aug 83 p 2

[Article: "Racist Group Will Not Keep Arabs From Living in Nazerat 'Illit!"]

[Text] Nazareth--Anger and disgust prevail among the people and various organizations of the city of Nazareth over the racist activities of a group in Nazerat 'Illit calling itself "Defenders of Nazerat 'Illit"! against Arabs living in the city of Nazerat 'Illit..

This group distributed pamphlets yesterday in which it warned against selling houses in Nazerat 'Illit to Arab families, claiming that this would distort the Jewish character of the city!! This racist group, which is led by a person by the name of Alex Finkelstein, is resorting to using excessive figures about the number of Arab residents in Nazerat 'Illit to frighten Jews. It is well-known that there was an entirely Arab neighborhood which had been part of Nazareth and was annexed to Nazerat 'Illit after it was established. This is the Arab quarter on the right side of Nazareth-al-Raynah Street. Also, the new quarter in northern al-Kurum was established on land of Nazareth and was annexed forcibly and unjustly to Nazerat 'Illit. From another aspect, the Arab families living in Nazerat 'Illit have actually settled there because of the acute housing crisis in the Arab city after the plunder of the city's lands to build Nazerat 'Illit.

Our correspondent informs us that this shameless racist campaign has not prevented and will not prevent young Arab families from looking for homes in Nazerat 'Illit if they do not find any in Nazareth. The municipality of Nazareth issued a statement in which it criticized this discrimination against Arabs, confirming that solving the housing problem in Nazareth is the topic to be discussed and not Arabs "taking over" (!!) houses in upper Nazareth. Engineer Ramiz Jaraysi, charge d'affaires for the mayor of the city of Nazareth, said: "Arabs have the right to live in Nazerat 'Illit or in any city or village in the country, and we will defend this right." Engineer Jaraysi demanded the enactment of a law prohibiting propaganda advocating racism and ethnic hatred.

This racist group elicited cautious reactions yesterday from Minister Mordekhai Tzipori, Minister of Communications, and the mayor of Nazerat 'Illit. Also, popular circles in Nazerat 'Illit expressed their disgust at this harmful provocation of relations between Jews and Arabs, especially since thousands of Arab workers work in Nazerat 'Illit, and there are wide links in Commercial and economic interests between the cities of Nazareth and Nazerat 'Illit.

7587

CSO: 4404/609

## EVACUATION, COMPENSATION OF TEL MALHATA BEDOUIN SURVEYED

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 7 Oct 83 Supplement p 5

[Article by Liora Moriel: "From Tent to Town"]

[Text]

FOR MOST ISRAELIS, the evacuation and resettlement of the Beduin of Tel Malhata to allow the construction of the Nevatim air base that became operational this week, was an essential, if unfortunate outcome of the Camp David Accords that required Israel to pull back from the vast Sinai peninsula. For the Association of Civil Rights in Israel (ACRI) it was a racist act, disguising the government's real intention to "Judaize the Negev" and take as much of the Beduins' land away from them for as little as possible.

When the accords were signed in 1978, it was agreed that the U.S. would help compensate Israel for its loss of military areas in Sinai by funding three new air bases in the Negev. Two — Uvda and Ramon — were to be constructed by the Americans themselves. The third was to be built by the Israelis as a "blue and white" project.

While the bases built by the Americans were in unpopulated areas of the southern Negev, the site of what was to become Nevatim was a windswept valley inhabited by several hundred Beduin families. To enable it to be built, the Knesset enacted the Requisition of Land in the Negev (Peace Treaty with Egypt) Law, 1980. This allowed the state to appropriate 80,000 dunams of land from 750 families and resettle them in two new towns in the area, Kuseifa and Arouar.

There is no denying that the government's policy is to urbanize the Beduin. This has been admitted

to me by highly-placed government officials. The idea was not dreamed up by the Likud, but is common to most political parties.

The Beduin themselves are no longer nomadic; for several generations now they have been slowly inching their way into the technological society around them. The Negev is today in the midst of an historical process, the move from tent to town, which seems to be inevitable. While the older generation clings to the more traditional way of life, the children who have gone through the school process seek more "modern" pursuits. Many are in business for themselves. The evacuation from Tel Malhata, which moved 6,000 men, women and children from a sedentary but simple existence to stone cities in three brief years made instant history and was thus a traumatic experience for most of the Beduin involved.

But in general, it is the question of compensation and not the necessity for the measure, that is now an issue.

THE MAN who has been in charge of the evacuation is Dodik Shoshani, head of the Implementation Authority since it was set up three years ago. A member of Kibbutz Lahav in the northern Negev, he is well aware of the problems, but is bound by the law. Asked in an interview this week whether he felt that the compensation prescribed in the Requisition Law was fair and adequate, he admitted that it was

not. But he wanted to be quoted in full, feeling that the issue was not a simple matter of clear-cut right and wrong.

"I think that the compensation and reparations and the building plots that were given for free to the Beduin are proper restitution for the things they left behind, but in the State of Israel a great injustice has been perpetrated. That is the injustice of the kind of solution which occurred in the Rafah and Yamit area, which set distorted standards for compensation. For this reason, it was necessary to compensate the Beduin also at a higher rate — if only because of the way they evacuated the area, which was quietly and with full co-operation."

At any rate, Shoshani said, whatever the Beduin received, even after adjustments, "this sum is much smaller than the investment in the construction of the airfield and much smaller than what was paid to the Yamit area evacuees, who were only 450 families."

The 750 families of Tel Malhata received IS750 million in direct compensation and grants. The construction of the infrastructures of the two resettlement towns of Kuseifa and Arouar cost an additional IS750m. Shoshani estimated that the Implementation Authority will spend another IS500m. on outstanding compensation.

THE BEDUIN are far from happy with the reparations. When Defence Minister Moshe Arens visited the Beduin at Kuseifa before proceeding to the Nevatim ceremony, Sheikh Salah Abu-Hamed of the Azbarga tribe took the opportunity to appeal for more consideration for the great sacrifices the Beduin had made in giving up the land they had settled for several decades.

"The families only received a small amount of money," he said. "They received between IS300,000 and IS500,000, while a house costs at least IS2m. to build. What must we, who have large families, do? We have given away our lands, and what have we received in return? True, we must give a hand to the security of the nation, but the nation must give us peace of mind,

without bank debts."

The defence minister agreed to Abu-Hamed's request that he meet with Beduin representatives to work out equitable solutions.

"What you have given so that the base could be constructed will never be forgotten," he said. "We will continue to help you in your resettlement process. My office will always be open."

IMMEDIATELY after the Nevatim inauguration ceremony on Monday, Shoshani left his job to return to his kibbutz. He has been succeeded by Yehezkeili, himself an evacuee, having lived in Yamit for five-and-a-half years. Does he feel that the Beduin got as good a deal as he did?

"I think they were somewhat deprived, but I explained to them that I have to work within the framework of the law. They knew where I came from."

The Beduin like Shoshani personally, but they feel that he gave too many promises and fulfilled few of them. They are hopeful that Yehezkeili, with his personal experience of evacuation, will only make promises that he can keep.

While it is true that the Beduin did not have running water, electricity, sewage systems and other amenities at Tel Malhata, they were not tent-dwelling nomads either. Most of them lived in shacks and even brick structures and many of the men worked in nearby towns.

Their agriculture was based mainly on climatological factors: wheat and barley were hand-sown and the rains did the rest. But some agriculture remained — and, for traditional reasons, the Beduin want that option today as well. The law enacted for their evacuation does not really take this factor into account.

Shoshani insisted in our interview that the option did exist but that "the men, many years ago, moved from agriculture to salaried or other jobs" and that therefore the issue is not crucial.

He explained that the 300 families proved to have held large tracts of land at Tel Malhata were given the option of getting land for agriculture both within and outside the resettlement towns. The key was 20 per cent of the land left behind to be given them in the new area

without water, or 5 per cent with drip irrigation.

Twenty dunams of olive trees have already been planted, Shoshani said, as well as tomatoes, cucumbers, eggplants and squash. Agricultural experts are advising the Beduin on what to grow.

Dov Caller of the Beersheba branch of ACRI is not convinced that the Implementation Authority has been acting in good faith and contends that, while not a shot was fired, the evacuation was far from peaceful. He does not mince his words:

"The government is pursuing a racist course, taking from the Beduin all their means of production — land, water, flocks — and concentrating them in towns so as to turn them into cheap labour in the Jewish industries and farms around them. Parallel to the process of eviction, there is a process of Judaizing the Negev by putting up agricultural communities on the Beduin lands."

SHEIKH HALIL ABU-RABIA is not very frightened by this prospect. He believes that the Beduin are not so stupid as to be pawns in such a game. The problems, he said, are more tangible: enough money to complete the construction of the houses and enough goodwill for the government to complete the infrastructures in the towns.

His brother, a university student living in Beersheba, is surprisingly more militant. Aref Abu-Rabia told me that while he lives in town, he does not feel removed from the soil. During his vacations he goes home to help with the farming, with the flocks. He does not want to lose this option.

"Ask yourself why there is no industry in Rahat, a seven-year-old town with a population of 16,000. Come and see how many buses come to Rahat every morning to take workers to the factories in Kiryat Gat. And why does the vocational school in Rahat have no machines? What vocations are the students learning?"

In Kuseifa and Arouar there are as yet no schools and clinics, let alone a commercial centre or an industrial park. While there are plans for light-industry workshops, they

are a long way from implementation.

Hezi Yehezkeili is aware of the burden now placed squarely on his young shoulders. He knows that he will have to redeem the promissory notes given by Shoshani. He knows that the Beduins' regard for the state depends on his handling of the Implementation Authority. "The Beduin left Tel Malhata on our word and now we have to fulfil our promises."

THE EVACUATION took three years. Many families tried to petition the High Court of Justice despite the fact that the Requisition Law expressly forbade this. Moshe Israel, the lawyer who represented 200 families before the court and is in large part responsible for the postponement of the final evacuation to a more flexible timetable (the final date of evacuation was changed 10 times, until in October 1982, Israel persuaded the state to leave the final date open and deal with the families in a more fluid and realistic way) was at the Abu-Rabia tent this week when Arens arrived for lunch. He was happy.

"I think that on this day it is good to take into consideration the fact that the Beduin are no less happy than the others to see the airfield open. They are responsible for the fact that it was not necessary to evacuate them by force, responsible for the fact that there were no protests or acts of violence, and responsible for the fact that there was no delay in the opening of the base.

"It's important to remember that the whole evacuation process was very difficult for them but they nevertheless did not resort to violence. Now they need a father, someone to take care of them."

This attitude is shared by all. ACRI wants to be ombudsman. The government's local adviser on Arab affairs wants to be their patron. The Beduin who runs the Beduin section in the Labour Council and the one who works for the Labour Party in the region both want to speak for their brothers. The Implementation Authority wants to be turned into a body that can go on functioning beyond the simple implementation

of the law. And, of course, the sheikhs do not want their powers usurped. There is no lack of potential parents. In fact, there may be too many godfathers for this grown-up child.

Shoshani feels that the authority he headed for three years has the most expertise and must supplant all previous agents and agencies.

"We learned the subject [of resettlement] with the Beduin themselves. We sat with them and tried to bridge the gaps. We built towns which are now spread out but will in the future become one mass. This will happen in the course of the speeded-up urbanization and there is already a tendency among the Beduin in the periphery of the Nevatim base to come to an agreement for evacuation and compensation leading to resettlement in the new towns. That's why I think the Implementation Authority must carry on."

WHILE THREE YEARS ago the Beduin opposed the evacuation to towns vehemently the situation now seems to have calmed down. There is mutual trust — although, as several of the Beduin have said in private, the trust is limited and will not hold for more than a year or two — and a superficial atmosphere of goodwill. The Beduin have seen governments and governors come and go. They are patient by nature, but they want action.

Majed Abu-Rabia, son of the murdered Sheikh Hamed Abu-Rabia, who was the last strong sheikh to whom all the others bowed, speaks softly:

"I think that the evacuation was carried out in a logical way. Nobody was evacuated against his will. For many reasons, they have not yet received all the reparations to which they're entitled. I don't think that the money the Beduin accepted will be enough for any of them to build a house, and they'll suffer for this."

"I think there is bitterness but in the future perhaps things will be better. From what Hezi says, it seems that he is approaching each person individually to work out his needs. Hezi can cut things firmly, he knows the score — he was an evacuee from Yamit." □



## BRIEFS

PROJECTS FOR UMM AL-FAHM--In its session of 3 August 1983, the Democratic Board of the Umm al-Fahm Local Council approved a development plan for the next stage, including the following projects: Building three schools, within the educational framework approved several months ago in coordination with the Ministry of Education. A preparatory school called "al-Mutanabi" will be built in the eastern part of the village, a preparatory school in the western Shikkin region, and another preparatory school in the (La'yun) region. Planning traffic signs in the village; Purchasing two tractors and a pump for sewers. At this meeting, it was decided to increase the rents of the rooms leased to the schools and also to increase fees for transporting students in accordance with the travel cost schedule determined by the Ministry of Communications. It was also decided to authorize a licensed survey or to mark the boundaries of the lots on which the "al-Khansa" school is built. It was decided to resort to arbitration to settle the dispute with the contractor. [Text] [Haifa AL-ITTIHAD in Arabic 10 Aug 83 p 3] 7587

WEST BANK LAND REGISTRY--Jerusalem--The occupation authorities have established an Occupied West Bank land registry office in the settlement of Ma'ale Adumim whose function is to record land and acquisitions of title from the lists of confiscated land belonging to Arab citizens. This office will also gradually take over transactions from the existing land records offices in the occupied territory. The significance of this official occupation measure is that it gives the settlers a free hand in connection with registering ownership of Arab land and gives them complete responsibility for it, which brings with it falsification of documents and records, letting sales by brokers and thieves pass, and seizure of these lands without accounting or supervision. This measure requires Arab citizens to go to the new office in Ma'ale Adumim rather than to the existing land registries now present in the West Bank, which causes additional problems and complications for them. [Text] [Haifa AL-ITTIHAD in Arabic 24 Aug 83 p 2] 7587

WEST BANK CIVILIAN SETTLEMENTS--The joint cabinet--World Zionist Organization settlement Committee yesterday decided to convert six para-military settlements in the West Bank to civilian settlements, the cabinet secretary announced yesterday. The six settlements are Brosh and Elisha in the Jordan Valley, Yitzhar and Meitzar in Samaria and Ginat and Zurik in the Hebron hills. The committee also approved the establishment of Tsofim, an urban settlement planned for 1,200 families to be built by private investors north-east of Kalkilya. [Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 6 Oct 83 p 1]

STATUS, FUTURE OF ISRAELI ACCORD VIEWED

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic No 299, 15 Aug 83 pp 19-22

[Article by Zuhayr al-Mardini: "Will America Cancel the Agreement?"]

[Excerpts] The question being asked now by observers in light of America's recent activity vis-a-vis Lebanon as embodied in the visits of Robert McFarlane to the region's capitals is whether or not Washington will announce it is cancelling the Lebanese-Israeli agreement now that it has become clear the Israel will withdraw to the al-Awwali river and build fortifications there, now that the Syrian-American dialogue committees have begun their work, and now that partition seems to be a fait accompli both in the Arab world and internationally.

If the first visit of President Amin al-Jumayyil to Washington put the Lebanese-American-Israeli agreement in Schultz hands, what then are the results of his second visit to Washington, which happened less than a year after the first?

President al-Jumayyil undertook his second visit after America's promisory notes came due and Lebanon came to be in dire need of repayment. He was no longer able to breathe artificial oxygen, which had almost run out, at any rate, given the enormity of the events which were weighing down the neck of "legitimacy" in Beirut, the mountain, al-Biqa' and Tripoli.

The essential goal of the second visit was to make Washington understand that Lebanon refused to keep on playing its current role, while being limited to overseeing the administration of the crisis without being permitted to penetrate to its heart in preparation for finding the right medicine to treat the disease which has come to threaten Lebanon's fate. While the visit was taking place, Israel's true intentions were uncovered. At the vanguard of these intentions was naming the evacuation by its forces of some parts of the mountain and al-Shuf a partial withdrawal. In the current Arabic language, the name of this operation was "the redeployment of Israel's forces" to "more comfortable" areas. The decision to undertake this maneuver was taken by Israel and had no tie to any agreement with Lebanon or America!

It was also revealed that Israel would build an electrified, electronic fence along the al-Awwali river, in order to assure that its forces were protected from the rear.

These Israeli intentions were explained by the government in Lebanon by saying that Israel wanted to stay in the south and would not leave the area in the near future before knowing the general situation and the solution being prepared for the region. The goal behind all this was to finish up the annexation of the West Bank and Gaza, after which Israel would turn its attention to the south in accordance with its long-term plan, which was a secret to no one who follows what the Israeli press publishes concerning the partitioning of Lebanon.

#### The Stage of the Decisive Choice!

This situation closed the door in the face of the government and placed it at the stage of the decisive choice in a mode of confrontation, since it had only two options left:

First, it might be possible to penetrate the obstacles which had been devised against Lebanon's unity as a land, a people and a set of institutions, by means of taking a position which would turn the exigencies of the situation upside down.

Second, it was possible to submit to the will of things-as-they-are, according to which all prescriptions imposed on Lebanon would be accepted, even if that were to mean the worst kind of disintegration.

The second visit came about because the government chose the second solution!

Before plunging into a discussion of this visit's real results, we must give a little consideration to a question which is crucial for both Lebanon and America: what is to be the fate of the tripartite Lebanese-American-Israeli agreement?

#### Has the Agreement Been Frozen?

At a party held in Beirut to honor David Roberts, the British ambassador, before his return to London following the completion of his service, and in the midst of a gathering of Arab and foreign diplomats, the British ambassador said things of significance which he would not have uttered had not his tour been ending!

The ambassador spoke about an atmosphere existing both in the Arab world and internationally which had begun to indicate that it would be possible to carry out some reforms in the tripartite accord which would expand the spirit of the agreement while preserving its text. The ambassador focused on two basic points:

First, he spoke of a reform connected with the security region known in the text of the agreement as area B. In this area, the local forces are supposed

to take part in preserving security. The revision would have it end up--as the result of American pressure--as an agreement about the nature of the forces to be located there, so that Lebanon would not be forced to take Sa'd Haddad's troops. In the ambassador's opinion, this would provide an assurance to Syria.

Second, the agreement spoke about the necessity of the two sides--Lebanon and Israel--holding new talks 6 months after the agreement began to be implemented which would have to do with further defining the future relations between the two countries. The ambassador commented on this, saying:

A text such as this does not compel Lebanon to normalize its relations with Israel. There is a possibility--given direct pressure from Washington--of avoiding the achievement of any kind of normalization between the two countries on the level of future relations.

The ambassador said that a new interpretation of the text having to do with security region B was possible, especially since the agreement does not specifically say that Lebanon must make use of Sa'd Haddad's forces. In addition, resumption of the talks 6 months after the implementation of the accord would not--according to the text--compel Lebanon to normalize relations with Israel. This fact could open the door to a dialogue with Damascus, especially since a Syrian-Israeli dialogue is happening now via Washington.

There is no doubt that one of the most positive steps brought about by President al-Jumayyil's second visit was the replacement of Philip Habib by McFarlane in the region. Those who think that this replacement was a purely American step are mistaken. Perhaps we are not broadcasting a secret when we say that President al-Jumayyil knew that this step would be taken ahead of time and that he blessed it before heading to Washington. Indeed, President al-Jumayyil knows better than anyone else that for Lebanon to get out of the tight spot it is in now, there must be a resumption of the dialogue between Damascus and Washington, in order to prepare the way for a dialogue between Lebanon and Syria. Lebanese-Syrian relations and Syrian-American relations were the top topics in the file used during the Lebanese-American talks, in light of the feeling which Lebanon's decision-makers have to the effect that Washington is moving toward Damascus so that it can make sure that the promises made by the American president, Reagan, in connection with Lebanon and its difficult crisis will be carried out.

When the Lebanese delegation mentioned this subject to President Reagan, he replied:

"The appointment of Robert McFarlane, the assistant advisor to the president for national security affairs, has to be seen in the light of several considerations. The most important one is that the American administration wants to open a dialogue with Damascus following the success achieved by Secretary of State Schultz during his visit to the Middle East in setting up a Syrian-American committee to continue the dialogue concerning the unresolved, thorny issues between the two countries." Will the new American delegation be able to achieve what the previous one and Philip Habib could not?



## Is There a Clear American Policy?

The Lebanese crisis, with all its complications, facets, and local, Arab and foreign ramifications, has shown that American policy in the Middle East has two faces, one which speaks to the Arabs and one which speaks to Israel. One of the members of the Lebanese delegation expressed this truth by saying:

Lebanon has borne the weight of America and America's policy on its back, while at the same time America is bearing the weight of Israel and Israel's policy!

The circumstances surrounding the visit of President al-Jumayyil to Washington were complex and fraught with dangers critical for Lebanon's future and fate.

The "bomb" of the Israeli cabinet's decision to redeploy its forces exploded, as did the bomb of Begin's telephone conversation with Reagan, in which the former cancelled his visit. These two bombs exploded in Washington while President al-Jumayyil was getting ready to visit.

The last of Washington's promises to Beirut was that Israel would not take any steps to redeploy its forces without consulting with Washington and that President Reagan's government would not leave any room for Begin's government to doubt that Washington opposed the taking of any such decision now!

The latest of Washington's expectations, of which it informed Lebanon up to a few days before the arrival of President al-Jumayyil and of which it even informed Dr Elie Salim, was the President Reagan's talks with Begin would necessarily produce positive movement. In addition, the American president was supposed to use all his personal and political influence on Begin to increase the latter's readiness to prove "Israel's good intentions" in practice vis-a-vis Lebanon. Moreover, Begin would then be more aware of the difficulty of America's position, which has not been able so far to give Lebanon sufficient proof of the ability of the United States.

However, President al-Jumayyil did not highlight the American contradictions and so embarrass Reagan. Rather, he drew President Reagan's attention to the dangers facing America's role itself, as well as America's influence and the entire American presence in the Middle East, as a result of the continuing, near-total political passivity of its policy toward the Lebanese crisis.

The members of the Lebanese delegation felt that President al-Jumayyil intentionally presented a positive picture of Lebanese morale so that he would give the American administration the chance to take speedily its final position with regard to the Lebanese crisis. Al-Jumayyil made it clear to the leaders of Congress and Schultz that Washington had not completely fulfilled its responsibility to keep Israel from deciding to redeploy its forces. This was something Washington could have done, especially since there was no surprise in the matter. Rather, it was the topic of various discussions between Washington and Tel Aviv which Beirut observed with interest and precision, warning about the aftereffects of the decision several



times before it was taken! The Americans admitted during these talks that "Washington finds itself in a very difficult position."

When the Lebanese delegation left Washington, it carried with it many American promises which are supposed to be realized on the ground. Among these was a promise to "keep Israel out" of the war in the mountain. The Lebanese authorities would be left to deal with the subject, along with the new American representative.

#### Washington Is Between Two Fires!

Everyone is now waiting to find out how McFarlane will move the Lebanese crisis away from complications and toward relaxation. Something is happening that cannot be ignored, however. A great deal of evidence confirms that America's foreign policy is taking a new turn strongly reminiscent of the period of change which it witnessed following the removal of Haig a year ago, but in the opposite direction. The optimistic stage which the American administration entered after George Schultz took over the direction of American foreign policy, which brought with it the hope that this policy would be more harmonious, less contradictory and more effective, is just about over, following an extremely disappointing year. This disappointment is reflected in the failure which afflicted American foreign policy in the most important region of conflict in the world, a region in which the Reagan administration has invested its efforts. This region is the Middle East! It has become necessary for the Reagan administration to do its calculations over. Al-Jumayyil's visit to Washington was tantamount to the final warning of the danger of this failure continuing!

Among the results of this visit were the changes which happened while al-Jumayyil was in Washington asking Reagan to help by putting some new faces in charge of directing American policy in this sensitive region!

No sooner had Philip Habib given up his post and announced his resignation than McFarlane was appointed to replace him. This was not unrelated to the powerful sense of the increasing decay which American policy in the Middle East faced. This explains as well the talk repeated in the news to the effect that the White House had decided to take full control of directing American policy in this region, in addition to excluding the State Department and its head, George Schultz, from full participation in the issuing of this decision. Among the things the Lebanese delegation carried back with it from its visit to Washington was an analysis by one of President Reagan's top aides. According to the aide, this change means that the White House, or to be more precise William Clark, President Reagan's national security advisor, will be more deeply involved in the direct treatment of the regional crisis in general and the Lebanese crisis in particular, Clark being more extreme and more of a hardliner than George Schultz!

Moreover, the choice of McFarlane to succeed Habib in turn raises fears of a new American change in the region which will embarrass the White House vis-a-vis Israel!

Despite America's policy of passivity toward Israel, and the bountiful showering of military and economic aid upon Israel in the aftermath of each Israeli blow to America's initiatives in the region, beginning with the Reagan initiative and ending with the Lebanese-American-Israeli agreement, America's policy will change once again, in one of two directions, in order to create a way out of the current failure:

The direction chosen will be either right or wrong. If Washington takes the latter course, things will get more complicated. Israel was the first one to reject completely the Reagan initiative. It is now redeploying its forces in Lebanon behind defensive lines which military experts say will be like the Berlin wall or the Bar Lev line. This might cause the entire region of the Middle East to go up in an explosion the likes of which the policy experts in the United States and Israel might not expect! To encourage Lebanon with words and aid to stand firm in Beirut so that the situation will stay as it is for as long as possible is no longer of any use. This is what President al-Jumayyil himself gave expression to in the first meeting the cabinet held under his direction.

During this meeting, President al-Jumayyil welcomed all constructive opposition which was within the national, constitutional framework in Lebanon. He announced that each opposition group could voice its opinions in a patriotic, democratic, free and proper fashion. The things the president said in this meeting were accompanied by a relative change in the intensity of the violence which characterized Syrian commentary on the visit. This led many government figures to say that the "propaganda bombardment," which has grown mightily in magnitude and become quite violent while President al-Jumayyil was in Washington, had abated in intensity in preparation for Syria's entry, practically speaking, into the Syrian-American dialogue stage, the result of which would perhaps be to consecrate partition, under the cover of the failure of the American solution.

The foreign minister, Dr Elie Salim, made it clear to the Arab ambassadors during a meeting with them that the president, "through the statements he made after learning that the bombing had intensified and was not restricted to East Beirut, but had extended to the international airport" did not mean he would direct similar military blows against Damascus. Rather, he meant that the deterioration of the situation would have an effect on all without exception.

One can say that many mobile bridges have begun to be built between President al-Jumayyil and some opposition stars in order to prepare the way for the removal of some of the subject of the war in the mountain. Thus, McFarland finds himself facing certain facts which can be discussed as a way of beginning to carry out his mission. First on the list is placing a limit on the war in the mountain, with the Marines and French forces moving up to the international highway and the maintenance of security in the mountain becoming one of the tasks of the Lebanese army.

Everything that is now happening in the Lebanese theater depends on intentions. If Washington's intentions toward Lebanon are honest, a cease-fire in the mountain will be reached and Syria will then be convinced to take positive steps toward removing its forces from Lebanon. If Washington uses its other, traditional face, which is turned toward Israel, it shall have thereby consecrated partition.

BENEFITS, ENTITLEMENTS FOR STUDENTS IN U.S. DISCUSSED

Riyadh AL-RIYAD in Arabic 18 Aug 83 p 2

[Article by Turki al-'Ayyar: "10,000 Students Have Been Sent to Study in U.S. Universities; an Allowance Equalling Half of a Student's Salary Is Given for His Wife and an Allowance Equalling 25 percent of His Salary is Given for [Each] Child"]

[Text] A total of 10,000 persons from various Saudi Government offices have been sent to the U.S. to study in their fields of specialization at various American universities.

This fact was revealed to AL-RIYAD by an authoritative source who also added that the new [medical] treatment allowance, which had been debated and discussed, was still a matter which was under study and no decision had yet been reached concerning it.

Concerning the regular benefits, including financial benefits, which are being provided to the students abroad as well as to those accompanying them, and concerning the terms of their entitlement to these benefits, the source said the following: "A monthly allowance of 2,600 riyals shall be paid each month to each student in U.S. dollars in accordance with the exchange rate which prevails at the beginning of each Islamic calendar month. "Also, each married student shall receive an additional allowance for his wife which is equal to half of his monthly salary if she is accompanying her husband during his residence in the U.S. and is engaged full-time in housework and is not going to school. However, if she chooses to pursue her education, then she will be treated as any student abroad is treated in terms of receiving financial benefits for study abroad--unless this is expressly prohibited.

A wife's right to these benefits shall end when her husband's study mission ends, no matter what the reasons are for the termination of this study mission. In any case, the husband, in order to be entitled to these benefits for his wife, must prove that his wife is accompanying him, and must do so by presenting his passport which has been officially stamped upon their entry into the U.S. and which shows that she is accompanying him.

"A student shall also receive an allowance equal to 25 percent of his monthly salary for each of his children, provided that the total allowance for his children not exceed 50 percent of his salary. He may only receive this

allowance if the children are accompanying him, and this must be proven by presenting passports which have been officially stamped upon their entry [into the U.S.] or by presenting the birth certificate of the child concerned if he was born during the student's residence in the U.S.

"A yearly book allowance of 1,700 riyals shall be paid to each student once a year, in the form of a lump sum, only during the time period of the student's course of academic study. He shall no longer be entitled to this allowance after this period of time ends.

"Also, each student shall receive a yearly clothes allowance of 4,000 riyals only during the time of his basic course of study. This allowance shall be disbursed in two installments--the first installment shall be paid at the beginning of the fiscal year, and the second installment shall be paid at the middle of the fiscal year.

"Each unmarried student shall be paid a medical allowance of 4,000 riyals, and each married student shall be paid a medical allowance of 8,000 riyals. These allowances shall be paid in two installments--the first installment shall be paid at the beginning of the Islamic calendar year, and the second installment shall be paid at the middle of the year. The Saudi educational attache shall pay the expenses of medical surgery operations, provided that the attache is furnished with an official medical report originating from the hospital where the operation has been done."

The source added: "Each graduate student shall be paid a lump sum of 3,000 riyals, one time during his period of graduate study, as an allowance for scientific equipment and implements which are necessary for him to buy in order to study scientific and theoretical fields of specialization.

"Furthermore, each outstanding student shall receive an incentive payment which reflects the level of scholarship which he has achieved at the end of each semester. In the case of undergraduate students, the incentive payment shall total 100 percent of his salary if the student has achieved a grade point average of 4, and it shall be 50 percent of his salary if his grade point average has been between 3 and 4. As for graduate students, their incentive payments shall be 100 percent of their salaries if the grade point average achieved is between 3.5 and 4.

"In order to receive this incentive payment for a given semester, an undergraduate student must complete at least 15 hours and a graduate student must complete at least 9 hours of academic courses in his field of specialization. In addition to this, the educational institution in which the student achieves high grades in the number of course hours required must be an accredited institution of good academic standing and must have [at least] a 4-year program of study, and the student shall have enrolled in this institution with the approval of the Saudi Office of Education. The incentive payment shall be paid out during the basic period of academic study, and it shall not be paid out for academic semesters which do not fall within the scope of this basic period of academic study.



"Allowances for academic field trips shall be paid out to graduate students, the preparation of whose research dissertations requires that they travel to places other than the areas where their educational institutions are located. The regulations governing these cases shall be as follows:

1. Local field trips: This applies to field trips organized by the educational institution where the student is enrolled and which require travel to, or residence in, a location at least 63 miles away from the location of the student's educational institution inside the U.S. Such a trip must be closely connected with the student's field of specialization. A master's degree student shall be paid an allowance equal to his 1-month allowance and a doctor's degree student shall receive an allowance equal to his allowance for 2 months in order to cover his and his family's travel, housing and living expenses. This allowance shall be paid in the form of a lump sum during the time of each stage of study to which it applies. One may not use this allowance to pay for regular travel tickets [which have nothing to do with field trips].

2. Field trips to Saudi Arabia: This applies to field trips which require travel to, and residence in, Saudi Arabia for a period of no more than 3 months. In order to undertake such a trip, a student must submit a request in which he presents a summary of his research project, accompanied by a work [proposal] document which has been validated and agreed to by the professor supervising the project and a certificate from this professor which testifies to the fact that it is necessary for the student to undertake this trip.

3. Field trips to places outside the U.S. and other than Saudi Arabia: A student shall not be entitled to receive any special allowances for such field trips unless he demonstrates that it is necessary to undertake such a trip in order to complete his graduation requirements and convinces the Saudi Office of Education that this trip is absolutely necessary. In such cases, the academic fees to be covered must be within reasonable bounds, and the payment of these fees must be made directly to the education institution concerned in the country where the student is to do his work.

"A student shall also be compensated for expenses incurred during the preparation of a thesis or dissertation, the completion of which is required for him to obtain a higher educational degree such as a bachelor's degree, a master's degree, or a doctor's degree. The student shall be reimbursed for expenses incurred as a result of having his thesis or dissertation typed and bound after this has been done, and the reimbursement payment shall be in accordance with the invoices which the student presents and after he has submitted five copies of his thesis or dissertation, in final form, to the Saudi Office of Education.

"The Saudi Office of Education shall also pay expenses incurred by a student in order to utilize computers, and this money shall be paid directly to the university or organization which has provided this service in cases where a student is obliged to utilize such services. In order for such services to be paid for by the Saudi Office of Education, it must receive invoices from the university or organization involved. And furthermore it is a condition,



in all cases, for receipt of these benefits that the time period regularly allowed must not have expired before his graduation."

Concerning entitlements resulting from graduation, the source said the following: "A student's graduation is attested to by the fact that he receives an official document issued by the [educational] office involved which has been signed by the appropriate official in an accredited U.S. educational or training institution. The document must certify that the student or trainee has successfully complete the theoretical and practical training and study requirements specified by that institution in order that one receive the appropriate academic degree or the specified training. The date for the completion of these requirements--rather than the date that the diploma is issued or the date that the academic semester officially ends--shall be considered the actual date of the student's graduation and the date of the termination of his study mission, and it is on this date of the termination of his study mission, and it is on this date that his entitlement to the benefits related to his study mission shall end. This shall apply even if he has graduated before the expiration of the time period normally specified for his study mission. In order to confirm the fact of his graduation and his entitlement to the financial benefits resulting from graduation and in order to have the documents and certificates granted in accordance therewith certified, the student must have completed the requirements for graduation specified at an accredited educational or training institution, his enrollment in this institution must have been agreed to by the Saudi Office of Education, and the student must have graduated and completed the normal course requirements of his field of specialization or the phase [of study] specified.

"A student who had graduated in accordance with the terms set forth above shall be entitled, during the normally-allowed time period of his study mission abroad, to receive an allowance equal to a full month's salary, and this allowance shall apply starting with his actual date of graduation. Such a student is no longer entitled to this allowance or any part thereof if he receives a salary at any time subsequent to the date of his graduation or the date which is specified as being the date of termination of the period of his study mission.

"Each unmarried student shall be given a shipping allowance equal to 1 month's salary, and each married student shall receive a shipping allowance equal to 2 months' salary. A wife accompanying her husband who is on a study mission shall not be entitled to receive his allowance, whereas a female student originally sent on a study mission shall be entitled to this allowance.

"A student shall be entitled to receive an incentive payment as a reward for academic achievement if he is entitled to it as a result of his achievement during the final semester or the semesters of the final year and he has not already received it. A student shall also be entitled to receive payment for one-way tourist-class tickets for himself and for those accompanying him from his place of study in the U.S. to the airport closest to the town or city in the area [of Saudi Arabia] where he lives--and the route shall be the shortest possible one.

"A student shall notify the Saudi Office of Education of the fact of his graduation immediately after the list of his final grades is posted. The period of time normally necessary for him to see the list of his final grades is 1 week [after his graduation]. A student may send the list of his final grades, along with his request that his entitlements be terminated, by express mail under the name of the person in charge of the Study Unit in the Academic Affairs Section of the Saudi Office of Education. A student may also request a local travel ticket for the purpose of making a personal appearance at the [U.S. branch of the] Saudi Office of Education, if he so wishes, in order to present his graduation document and terminate his entitlements. Such a ticket, or the money intended for such a ticket, may be used only by the student himself and may not be used by either his wife or other persons accompanying him."

Concerning problems which the students abroad have, the source had the following to say: "Most of these problems are seasonal ones. For example, we have ticket problems in the summer because that is the travel season. Also, students have different wishes concerning the travel routes which they wish to take. The Saudi Office of Education tries very hard to eliminate and overcome these problems. The Social Affairs Section has been entrusted with the job of looking into all of these problems and endeavoring to solve them."

9468

CSO: 4404/584

GOVERNMENT'S ANTI-DEFAMATION CAMPAIGN ABROAD DESCRIBED

Riyadh AL-RIYAD in Arabic 10 Aug 83 p 11

[Article by Dr 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Zamil, deputy minister of commerce: "Saudi Arabia Is Keeping Track of the Campaigns Abroad Designed to Smear the Reputation of the Arabs, and Has Threatened to Boycott Companies That Use These Methods"]

[Text] The ministry expelled an advertising agent of Toyota Corporation in Saudi Arabia because the company put out advertisements which called upon people to buy its cars in order to make the Arabs angry!

His Excellency Dr Sulayman al-Sulaym, minister of commerce, expressed his gratitude to AL-RIYAD for the fact that it has been concerned about the campaigns being waged abroad to smear the reputation of the Arabs via advertising which is undertaken to achieve this purpose.

The ministry of commerce requested that further attention be given to this topic, about which an article was published in the next to last issue of the Economic Supplement [of AL-RIYAD]. The article dealt with the advertising campaign launched by the Hitachi Corporation in which this company used advertising that was insulting to the Arabs. From some time now the Ministry [of Commerce] has been following the activities of such companies and has been threatening to boycott them and prevent them from conducting business in Saudi Arabia.

His Excellency Dr 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Zamil, deputy minister of commerce, has sent a commentary to AL-RIYAD dealing with this disgraceful advertising campaign abroad which is designed to smear the reputation of the Arabs. The following is the text of Dr al-Zamil's commentary:

I have seen the article published in issue number 5519 of AL-RIYAD, dated Wednesday, 24 Shawwal 1403 A.H., corresponding to 3 August 1983, under the headline "When the Japanese Insist That the Arabs Are Invaders." The article was written by Hisan al-(Tulayli) and concerned the advertising campaign launched by the Hitachi Corporation in France which involved insults being directed at the Arabs. The minister of commerce saw the above-mentioned article and asked me first of all to express my gratitude to AL-RIYAD for its

interest in following these developments. The minister of commerce also asked me to pursue this matter and investigate it, as was done in previous cases in which the Ministry of Commerce intervened--the result being that many international firms ceased utilizing the policy of picturing, in their advertising, the Arabs as objects of ridicule in order to attract the attention of their readers. Picturing Arabs in this manner, until just a few years ago, was something which these international firms commonly and normally did. These companies stopped doing this only after the Ministry of Commerce, on instructions given by the minister of commerce, began to pursue these companies and threaten to boycott them and prevent them from conducting business in this country.

At this point I would like to relate to you some examples of what the Ministry of Commerce has done concerning some of these firms:

1. The Toyota Corporation engaged in advertising in the U.S. which called upon Americans to buy Toyota cars if they wanted to anger the Arabs, the idea being that Toyotas do not consume much gasoline. The heads and representatives of the Toyota Corporation in Saudi Arabia were then summoned [to the Ministry of Commerce] and were told that such actions would endanger their business operations in Saudi Arabia. This advertising was then stopped, and the public relations firm responsible for creating this advertising was punished by losing its status as advertising representative for the Toyota Corporation. The Toyota Corporation then promised to do some advertising in the U.S. which would present the opposite picture of the Arabs and would support their cause, and this was in fact done.

2. In West Germany the Suzuki Corporation, when advertising its products, portrayed an Arab as having a large harem. The heads and representatives of this company in Saudi Arabia were then summoned [to the Ministry of Commerce] and threatened [with sanctions] unless they stopped this advertising campaign and published an official apology in the same newspapers and on the same pages--and the same number of times--that their insulting advertising was previously published. They were also asked to fire the public relations firm which had suggested that they use such advertising. All of this was in fact done.

3. British Airways put some vicious advertisements on TV in London which portrayed Arabs in the desert in a disgraceful manner. Responsible members of the firm were summoned [to the Ministry of Commerce] and we asked them to stop this advertising campaign, to [publish] an apology, and to no longer deal with the public relations firm responsible for this advertising. All of this was in fact done after they promised that such actions would not be repeated.

There are dozens of examples of similar such intervention which the Ministry [of Commerce] has undertaken as a result of the fact that such things have been discovered via the organizations of the ministry and by commercial attaches or as a result of the fact that articles such as yours have been written or as a result of receiving letters from earnestly concerned citizens. I can safely say that international firms now are fully aware of the fact that

the Ministry of Commerce, as well as the association which support it and the commercial attaches, are keeping track of these matters with great interest and concern.

I would like to tell you also that the ministry is monitoring the television programs shown in the West in order to see if there are any programs against the Arabs and to find out who is financing such programs--the objective being to then come to an understanding with such people in the only manner which they understand. Since firms have become aware of this fact and have understood it, they have ceased their financial support for the showing of such programs. As you know, without this financial support these television stations and international advertising agencies are unable to show any programs because all of them are programs which are commercial programs requiring advertising. As a result of this, lately we have not seen any programs on U.S. television and the television of the other Western countries which are basically hostile to the Arabs. In fact, the opposite is true. We have seen the appearance of a number of programs, financed by quite a few companies, which are supportive of Saudi Arabia and the Arabs.

I am telling you about these examples so that you will know that the Ministry of Commerce, based on instructions given by Dr Sulayman al-Sulaym, the minister of commerce, has decided that one of its responsibilities is that of monitoring the activities of these companies and teaching them the type of lessons which they understand. I can assure you that all of these companies, as a result of this, have done quite a bit for the cause of the Arabs such as [officially] apologizing for the mistakes which have been committed by the advertising agencies working for them.

And finally, and on behalf of the minister of commerce and the Ministry of Commerce, we would like to praise you initiative in uncovering the action of this company, and--God willing-- we will continue to keep track of what this company does. We thank you for your cooperation.

Dr 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Zamil  
Deputy Ministry of Commerce

9468  
CSO: 4404/584



## UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

### FRAUD, DECEPTIVE MARKETING SEEN IN UAE

London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 14 Aug 83 p 5

[Text] Adulteration and forgery have come to be among the prime characteristics of the markets in the United Arab Emirates. All sincere efforts made up to now to smash this phenomenon, whether undertaken by officials or by concerned businessmen and merchants, have been fruitless. The fundamental problem, which influences the state's progress toward development, is the connection between this entrenched phenomenon and the reputation of this mercantile country, whose foreign trade depends to a large extent on "re-exporting" to the other countries in the region. This adds important dimensions to the problem, especially in the long run, when oil will lose its real and financial value, which now accounts for 95 percent of the total national income.

The continuation of this problem, which has grown with the increasing activity of the centers of adulteration and forgery located in the countries of Southeast Asia, which have flooded the region with goods and products that copy world famous brands or goods to which consumers have become accustomed for one reason or another, will mean the gradual loss of buyers from neighboring countries like Iran, Yemen, Oman and Pakistan. Last year, these buyers imported 8 billion dirhams worth of merchandise and goods from the Emirates. These goods had first been imported from their original sources in huge quantities. If these buyers lose their confidence in the Emirates' goods and their place of origin, they could lose their trust in goods originally from the Emirates as well.

Examples--or precedents--are many, while the number caught does not represent anything but a small percentage of the total. This is due to the easy tariff systems and the absence of any effort on the part of the executive agencies to supervise the markets in order to protect consumers and the national economy, in addition to the large number of nationalities and the varied modes of consumer behavior they have, not to mention the diffusion of illiteracy, especially among women, which allows one the opportunity to market copied and adulterated merchandise under the same famous names and with only small differences in appearance, despite all the differences in content.

The court dockets are filled with litigations concerning commercial adulteration. The issue exploded 3 years ago when the general customs director issues

a decision (on his own) which aimed at controlling adulteration and falsification. In his decision, he pointed out that customs inspectors would impound any goods arriving at the ports of Dubayy if they thought or felt that the labels or trade marks might fool buyers with respect to the place of manufacture or origin of the goods. Following his decision, he said: "We felt it was necessary to take these steps in order to stop a (small number) of people from corrupting Dubayy's name and reputation in the goods trade and in re-exporting. We want all agents to be completely free of doubt concerning any goods they buy in Dubayy.

#### Impounding Goods

On that day, some goods bearing fake trade marks were impounded, including French perfumes coming from Cyprus, without that fact being mentioned on their label, in addition to clothing and cloth from Taiwan, on which was written in English: "Made in Britain." The idea was to fool the buyers. Other articles bore the words: "America Steel." This is not to mention the insecticides, similar to one of the famous brands in appearance and in the color of the can from abroad. Only one simple letter in the middle of the name was changed, so that only an expert would note the difference. The value of the merchandise confiscated was estimated at 2 million dirhems. A great stir resulted from this position taken by the customs director without first reaching an understanding with the other parties. Intervention from all levels occurred. As a result, an expanded committee was formed to discuss the matter and suggest a draft decree to suppress adulteration and counterfeiting. All this time, the decree was presented and discussed, only to disappear as suddenly as it had appeared!

#### Watches As Well

The general representative of one of the most famous expensive Swiss watches, the price of which reaches about \$30,000, confirms that he has been forced to replace one counterfeit watch with an original, in order to preserve the reputation of his product. He sent the fake watch to the manufacturing company, so it could look into the matter. In the last few days, customs authorities have seized a large number of these fake watches, along with an individual coming from Southeast Asia.

Garage workers complain that they have no confidence in anything. Imported motor and brake oil is sometimes just a copy of the famous oils. Consequently, they are not as effective, thereby subjecting the automobiles in which they are used to great dangers. Some workers discovered a number of oil filters from Taiwan which were made of flimsy paper materials, thereby causing the breakdown of a large number of engines in which they were used before the affair was discovered. This confirms that all automobile parts and basic components are now manufactured in places other than the original factories. They are also present on the local markets!

## Copying Perfumes and Brands

The rising price of perfume has prodded many to adulterate it or copy some famous brands by using similar bottles, similar trade marks, and cheap perfumes to gain by exploiting the enormous price differentials. A big printing press in an industrial area of Dubayy has taken to printing the outer wrapping of the most famous cleaning powders. The rest of the story is well known.

Some of these stories cause one to laugh as well. Huge packages were seized containing a great number of labels on which was written the exact same thing as on the label of one of the international brands, in addition to the expression: "Made in Italy." Naturally, these trade marks will find their way to the collars of shirts and dresses whose purchasers are satisfied with nothing else.

A maintenance engineer in one of the electricity companies confirms to us that a large number of the home electrical appliances found in the markets, especially the air conditioners which are used in large quantities in the region and bear an American brand name, were actually made in Hong King for the benefit of the local agent.

The other side of the story is the way all this reflects on the nascent national industry. Adulterated foreign goods are being offered at prices lower than those of similar goods produced locally, meaning that there is unequal competition. A comparison of price and quality will not favor the nation's output, especially since the adulterated goods use famous trade marks, unlike the local goods, which do not depend much on different trade marks.

In general, adulteration and cheating in commercial dealings have a clearly negative effect on the final costs of the economic development plan, for the national economy pays a lot in order to get a little, especially if we consider adulteration of building materials, machinery, and the devices which are considered to make up the cost side in the state's basic infrastructure and development projects.

12224

CSO: 4404/598

SOVIET EMBASSY IN KABUL REPORTEDLY PLUNGED INTO DARKNESS

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 6 Oct 83 p 1

[Text] ISLAMABAD (AFP)--Afghan guerillas attacked the heavily-guarded Soviet Embassy in Kabul last Saturday, plunging the chancery into darkness, western diplomatic sources said here.

The diplomats did not give details of the damage to the building but said that the electricity in the embassy was not restored until the next day.

Despite tight security, the guerillas also succeeded in exploding a bomb in the city center on the eve of a tour there by President Babrak Karmal, the sources said.

Karmal's first known public walk as president on the streets of Kabul was highly publicized by the regime's media, they said. Amid highly elaborate security measures, Karmal met with people in the streets as cheers and chants rang out.

The diplomats also reported that Northern Afghanistan, particularly Paghman Province, was the site of a number of anti-Soviet attacks. The guerillas disabled five armoured personnel carriers last week at Khinjan, close to the strategic Salang Pass.

The exact death toll was not immediately available but the diplomats said the Soviet and Afghan government troops suffered "moderate casualties."

The attack was followed by retaliatory bombing of villages by the MI-24 helicopters, they said.

Western diplomats here also underscored the precarious position of the regime forces in the Paktia Province of eastern Afghanistan, where last month Soviet aircraft carried out more than 150 sorties per week to sustain a beleaguered garrison there.

Mujahideen were claiming successive victories against the regime forces trapped in the capital city of Gardez, and also in the Pakistani border town of Khost.

The diplomats said that despite Soviet airlifts of arms and food to the besieged troops, they remained in difficulty.

They said the Mujahideen position in the sector was further strengthened by the continued interdiction of Paktia-bound Soviet and Afghan army convoys in the Logar Valley south of Kabul.

Heavy clashes were reported in Logar itself and diplomats said military hospitals in Kabul were overcrowded with wounded soldiers brought last week from Logar.

CSO: 4600/50



AFGHAN FIGHTERS REPORTEDLY CLOSE IN ON STRATEGIC TOWNS

Kuching SARAWAK TRIBUNE in English 9 Sep 83 p 4

[Text] Peshawar--Muslim guerrillas are closing in on two strategic towns in eastern Afghanistan, hoping to capture them soon and open large areas of border land to unhindered rebel movement, guerrilla sources said here today.

The guerrillas have already surrounded the towns of Khost and Urgun in Paktia province, bordering on Pakistan, they said, and the final offensive on Khost should start soon.

They expected Urgun to fall soon afterwards to guerrillas fighting the Babrak Karmal government, installed with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979.

Control of the towns would leave large areas of border land open for guerrillas to transport arms and supplies from bases in Pakistan towards Kabul and other areas in the interior of the country, according to the sources who are close to Peshawar-based guerrilla groups.

The sources said guerrillas had moved to within one or two km of Khost, an Afghan army stronghold, and the garrison there was now all but isolated with only about 800 soldiers and several dozen Soviet advisors left.

It was the first time since the Afghan war began that rebels had moved into the fertile plain around Khost, they said.

The guerrillas narrowed in on Khost in the past few weeks by capturing or disarming a series of militia posts meant to defend the town, also known as Matun.

Many tribesmen manning the posts went over to the rebels despite a two-year government programme to pay and train them as militia to keep guerrillas from crossing the territory, the sources said.

"That's two years' work wiped out," said one source, who has just met rebel commanders arriving from the Khost area. "They will have to start again from zero."

The rebels also captured several armoured vehicles, including some tanks, the sources said.

They said Soviet and Afghan forces in the two towns were being supplied by air because roads were all in rebel hands.

Several hundred families, blocked until now by the army from leaving the area, have just arrived in Pakistan through rebel-held territory, the sources said.--Reuter

CSO: 4600/48

## AFGHANISTAN

### MUJAHIDIN REPORTEDLY KILL GOVERNMENT TROOPS, DESTROY TANKS

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 8 Oct 83 p 1

[Text] ZAHEDAN, Oct. 7 (Dispatches)--The Muslim Mujahideen fighting the Soviet backed regime of Afghanistan and the occupying Soviet troops, in a heavy clash last Sunday in an area one km from the Herat airport, killed some 300 of the government forces and set ten tanks ablaze

Following this attack which lasted for several hours, the Soviet and the Afghan government forces in retaliation bombarded the area inflicting heavy damages on the residential areas and properties and martyring a number of people informed source said.

### Soviet MiG Fighters Bomb Pakistan's Civilian Areas

Meanwhile, Afghan aircraft bombed civilian areas in Pakistan for the second time in three weeks. killing three women and injuring two other people, state-run radio Pakistan reported Friday.

The attack Tuesday occurred along the Afghan-Pakistan border near the city of Wana in the Northwest Frontier Province, about 210 miles (337 km) southwest of Islamabad, the radio said.

The attacks were apparently carried out against areas sheltering Afghans.

The report said the six aircraft penetrated more than half a mile into Pakistan airspace, dropped several bombs and strafed the area. It said three women were killed and two other people wounded.

Six Soviet-made MiG jet fighters entered Pakistan from Afghanistan Sept. 18 and 19, dropping nine bombs that wounded six people.

President Mohammad Zia ul Haq warned on Oct. 1 that Pakistan will shoot down intruding aircraft unless the violations cease.

There have been 23 violations of Pakistani airspace between Aug. 1 and Sept. 19, government officials said.

## Kabul University Cancels Islamic Courses

Meanwhile, Professor Seyyed Mohammad Yusef Elmi, chairman of the Department of the Islamic History and Civilization of Kabul University, who fled Afghanistan recently, in an interview with Pakistan Radio said that Marxist ideology is being extensively propagated in Kabul University.

He said that the courses on the history of Islamic Art have been supplanted by philosophy and scientific sociology. Registration in the university was a mere formality, as the students and the graduates were summoned to military service compulsorily, he said.

## Soviet Soldier Joins Mujahideen

Meanwhile, a Soviet tank battalion soldier defected to the Mujahideen last month because he was "fed up with the continuing insecurity in Afghanistan," Mujahideen sources said.

The Mujahideen run Afghan Islamic Press (AIP) identified the 21-year-old Soviet military technician as Odeyam Anatolovich and said he had been with the Soviet 66th battalion stationed at Samarkhel, in Afghanistan's eastern Ningarhar Province.

He said that the 3,500 strong Soviet-battalion in Samarkhel was under constant fear of Mujahideen as their "ambushes against us are frequent."

He said that when he defected there were 110 wounded soldiers in the Soviet Samarkhel military hospital.

He said most of these were injured when a Soviet convoy was ambushed in Paghman Province on September 9. Mujahideen sources claim 20 Soviet soldiers were killed in the ambush and the convoy was forced to retreat.

Anatolovich praised the Mujahideen for their fighting spirit and "just cause," said AIP, but dismissed any possibility of a Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan.

CSO: 4600/53

# ERSHAD SEEN USING ECONOMIC REFORMS AS POLITICAL TOOL

Doha GULF TIMES in English 15 Oct 83 p 10

[Article by Shahiduzzaman Khan]

[Text]

**Dhaka:** Quite expectedly General H M Ershad has joined his own so-called non-political forum, the 18-point implementation Council. The general will head the Central Executive Council and central working committee of the 18-point forum which aims at what he described as "emancipating the people from poverty, disease and illiteracy."

General Ershad, who launched the 18-point programme at the start of the year, spread it throughout the country by giving permission to form implementation councils. He despatched his civilian and uniformed ministers to every nook and corner and instructed local level martial law chiefs to introduce 18-point programmes.

The general himself is engaged in whirlwind helicopter visits six days a week, touring the country's remotest corners to mobilise people in favour of his ideas. By now he has gained comfortable support since the opposition political parties failed to keep up with strenuous efforts

Ershad is making towards his goal.

With the regime putting more emphasis on economics than politics, and the manner in which the general is campaigning for support for his programme, it can safely be presumed that the programmes would be his electoral manifesto. The tier-by-tier progression of local body elections begins on November 7 and will provide him with a much-needed institutional base for his political ascent.

Ershad's recent attempts to decentralise and remodel local level administration and austerity drive has reflected positively on the country's deficit economy. Buoyed by World Bank and IMF support, Ershad is spending a sizeable amount of money in building 360 upazila (sub-districts) structures.

Listing his own achievements, the general said he has decentralised criminal and civil procedures; initiated a new land reforms; adopted a new drug policy banning unnecessary drugs; and denationalised banks, and the jute and textiles industries which were in "pitiable condition."

CSO: 4600/62



WRITER REVIEWS DEVELOPMENTS IN BANGLADESH

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 27, 28 Sep 83

[Article by Manash Ghosh: "Dhaka Revisited"]

[27 Sep 83 p 8]

[Text] Ershad in Search of Popularity

EIGHTEEN months ago, an ambitious army seized power in Bangladesh by deposing an elected President to become the sole arbiter of the country's destiny. The army's authority today permeates almost all walks of life. None of the previous three Martial Law regimes--of Ayub Khan, Yahya Khan and Ziaur Rahman--had got the entire institutional set-up of the army so deeply involved in the country's governance as the present one of Lieutenant-General H. M. Ershad.

Its growing voice in the formulation of Government policies, programmes and their implementation, its large induction into the civil and diplomatic services, its involvement in development work and, above all, its open interference in politics are all manifestations of the army's resolve to carve out for itself a dominant role in ruling the nation. And, to give this arrangement a seal of permanence, the army proposes to amend the Constitution to guarantee for itself a well-defined constitutional role.

The failure of the political parties to unite over a common programme and their serious internal dissensions and strife have largely helped the army to go ahead with its plan of consolidating power. The crucial need for a united stand against the army has escaped them completely. The narrow sectarian and personal interests of their leaders have made them lose sight of the immediate objective--withdrawal of Martial Law and restoration of democracy. Nothing much can be expected from the proposed Movement for Restoration of Democracy to be launched jointly next Friday by the 15-party alliance led by the League and the seven-party combine led by the Bangladesh Nationalist Party. Neither of the combines has the required leadership and the organizational capability to carry on a sustained political movement against the army.

Awami Split

The country's biggest political party, the Awami League, is totally crippled by a split that threatens to deprive the party, for the second time in a

decade, of a whole generation of dedicated young activists. Even the arch-rivals of the League concede that the split is bad for the country's democratic movement. The League's present inertia, also born of poor leadership, has rendered it incapable of mobilizing the democratic forces against the army a role it had played so astutely, and effectively, in the past. Its failure to recognize public issues and popular aspirations has left many wondering about its political relevance. In fact, the weak and divided parties have become the butt of the army, which publicly castigates them for their purposelessness.

The absence of any political threat has not, however, made the military regime stable. The threat from within--the cantonments, the regime's only power base and constituency--continues to be as real as before. Like the previous regimes, the army is vulnerable to conspiracy and intrigue. Recent happenings--suppression of an incipient coup bid, followed by the dismissal of two generals, one a Home Minister and the other the Commander of the strategic Dhaka garrison--have only highlighted the regime's inherent weakness.

The army is no longer as united as it was at the time of seizure of power. It is divided into two broad groups: extreme right fundamentalists who want Islamic tenets to be the guiding light of the nation, and moderates who are primarily nationalists and opposed to dogmatism. Both have crossed swords on many issues and, on occasion, their confrontation has threatened to come out into the open.

Undaunted, General Ershad is pushing ahead with his immediate objective of bringing a semblance of order and stability. But most people in Dhaka appear sceptical about the 53-year-old General's ability to do this. They ask whether he would be able to achieve what Mujib with his charisma and Ziaur, with his background as a freedom-fighter and his indefatigable energy and drive, could not.

General Ershad is facing difficulties in gaining popular acceptance. His efforts to decentralize district administration, introduce land and tenurial reforms, disinvest nationalized industries and help a new Bengali capitalist class grow--all have a populist bias. His studied effort to show none of the ruthlessness and arrogance of a military dictator and present a humane face has made his Martial Law regime look benign compared to the others.

#### Consensus Rule

General Ershad's handling of the army has been extremely cautious. Unlike Ziaur Rahman, who had concentrated in himself the absolute powers of the State and the armed forces, he prefers to share his authority as Chief Martial Law Administrator with his fellow officers and rule by consensus. Before taking any decision, he, as a rule, consults his own "military council" for advice and guidance. He recognizes the legitimacy of collective decision-making and responsibility in the army.

As a Colonel put it, "This is to give the army a sense of participation and involvement denied it by Mujib and Zia. The coups and the assassinations were an outcome of its sense of deprivation and consequent frustration. General

Ershad likes to carry the entire army with him on all issues, even as he consolidates his personal power and position."

It is in this context that General Ershad's impending visit to Washington, at the personal invitation from President Reagan, assumes some significance. Neither Mujib nor Ziaur received such an invitation, even after being recognized as the undisputed leader of Bangladesh. In Dhaka's diplomatic circles, the invitation is viewed as the American President affirming his faith in General Ershad's leadership and the military regime.

The army's lack of faith in a hostile bureaucracy has got it deeply involved in running affairs in Dhaka and the districts. Army officers say that the bureaucracy cannot be wholly relied upon as their directives are deliberately ignored. The civil service is still smarting under the humiliation of being stripped of its power and position, with many of its privileges and perquisites gone. The army has been forced to assume a dominant administrative role even at the thana level.

The zonal Martial Law Administrator, instead of the Divisional Commissioner, is now the Chairman of the Divisional Development Board, whose say in all matters is final and binding. Young Colonels, posted as Sub-Zonal Martial Law Administrators, are overseeing administrative and development work in the districts. Troops sent for exercises in the villages are entrusted with development work. Large-scale induction of army officers into Government enterprises, departments, semi-Government bodies and the diplomatic service also goes on. Such induction into civilian jobs, many believe, will be a permanent feature of the system now being evolved.

In many cases, this policy has proved counter-productive. One hears of army officers in Dhaka making a fortune out of Government contracts and Martial Law duties. Private companies are increasingly employing retired Colonels and Brigadiers with close contacts in the cantonments to bag lucrative Government contracts. The junta's image has also been tarnished by the recent detection of a big smuggling racket in which a section of the armed forces was directly involved.

With his cool and calculating mind, General Ershad is now working on a dual strategy further to consolidate his position by removing potential rivals and dissenters in the army and creating a political base for himself in order to be elected as the President of Bangladesh. Taking advantage of the present political vacuum, he is keen on legitimizing his rule by holding the Presidential election some time next year.

This largely explains his sudden hurry to set up a new political party. He has told his colleagues privately that, unlike Pakistan, Martial Law in Bangladesh cannot continue indefinitely. Recent developments in Pakistan have also made him see the reality.

As a first step, General Ershad has stripped Major-General Mahabbatjan Chowdhury, the Home Minister, and Major-General Abdur Rehman, Commander of the Dhaka garrison--both leaders of the fundamentalist group in the army--of their

posts and replaced them with loyal generals. The two generals had been a source of much embarrassment, including the killing of four students in the Dhaka firing in February. Dismissal of a few more generals close to the fundamentalists is said to be in the offing. Side by side, he is promoting the loyalists by giving them key positions in the army.

Generals and officers who are opposed to the army's involvement in politics and administration are not finding favour with General Ershad either. A few of them may be eased out for airing their view that the army's professionalism and image are in jeopardy. They want power to be handed back to the elected representatives and the army to return to its barracks at the earliest. These generals have warned that the Chief Martial Law Administrator is committing the same mistakes that Zia made to fulfil his personal ambitions.

#### Political Base

General Ershad is said to be relying heavily on the Intelligence service to help build his political and mass base, but this, in fact, is at least partly making his popular acceptance difficult. The mushrooming of "sponsored" organizations has already become a subject of controversy. Despite his efforts to find decent and talented people, elements who would be a liability for any organization are jumping into his bandwagon. His attempts to win over students have not so far yielded encouraging results.

General Ershad is now looking hopefully to next winter's Union Parishad and village council elections to provide him with a nucleus for a political base. In fact, one of the considerations in decentralizing the district administration was political. Through the elected chairman and members of the rural bodies, he would seek the extension of his political base to the grassroots level.

By bringing the Government's planning and implementation machinery and also the judiciary to the doorstep of villagers, General Ershad has already earned for himself considerable goodwill. The setting up of Munsiff and magisterial courts in about 400 upgraded thanas has resulted in speedy dispensation of justice.

General Ershad's current efforts are directed at providing tenurial rights to share-croppers, giving permanent protection to their homestead and land to the landless, ensuring crop sharing on the "tebhaga basis" and fixing minimum wages for agricultural labour. If he can implement even a few of these recommendations by his land reforms committees, he would succeed in extending the base of popular support.

[28 Sep 83 p 8]

[Text] Share Power With the Army?

WHAT impact the split in the Awami League will have on the future course of events in Bangladesh, and to what extent this will help General Ershad to gain politically and legitimize his rule, has become the subject of widespread



speculation in Dhaka. Although the army has not openly reacted to the split, in private it has welcomed it. In fact, it now finds the League somewhat more acceptable than before, expecting it to veer right from its present left-of-centre stance.

General Ershad's Ministers are happy over what they call the "near extinction" of the pro-Moscow faction in the Awami League, led by the party's Secretary, Mr Abdur Rezzak, and the rallying of the liberal, democratic and pro-West faction around the party President, Sheikh Hasina Wazed. This, they say, augurs well as it might help the moderates in the Army to come to a working arrangement with the pro-West faction in the Awami League.

#### Overtures

Already, some overtures have been made in this direction, the latest being General Ershad's recent public pronouncements that the Government would construct a memorial of national independence at the mango grove at Mujib Nagar, where the Awami League-led provisional Government of Bangladesh was installed in April 1971. A monument at Mujib Nagar has been a long-standing demand of the Awami League. Ziaur Rahman, during his presidency, had rejected the demand out of hand because of his pathological dislike of Mujib and the League. To him, such a monument would have amounted to a glorification of the role of Mujib and the League in the liberation struggle.

With General Ershad's advent to power, there has been a perceptible shift in this stance. In fact, the Chief Martial Law Administrator has more than once publicly acknowledged Mujib's contribution to Bangladesh and his pre-eminent place in national history. In private, he has even indicated his liking for a few leaders belonging to the pro-West faction of the Awami League. In a reciprocal gesture, some influential members of this group publicly welcomed the Martial Law regime under General Ershad as an "act of deliverance".

There are prominent leaders in this faction who want their party to come to an understanding on sharing power with the army. According to them, with the army firmly in the saddle, there is no prospect of the Awami League returning to power in the near future any other way. This line of thinking has prompted a behind-the-scenes debate within the party hierarchy. The propounders of this line point out that the army continues to be a major source of destabilization and, without its help, stability cannot be restored to Bangladesh. A purely civilian government is out of the question.

Moreover, being with the army in the Government would give the party the advantage of neutralizing any move inimical to its interests. This it can never hope to do by remaining out of power. "If the army could be made to agree to some of our terms, like recognizing Bangabandhu as the Father of the Nation, this is the best course left for the Awami League to take", said an Awami League leader in an interview.

The pro-Moscow faction views this development as "a growing entente" fraught with ruinous consequences for the Awami League. Mr. Abdur Rezzak, Secretary of the party and leader of the faction, says that interested quarters in the



Army and the Government are trying to influence the Awami League's thinking and give a rightist tilt to its policies and programmes. Already, many of the policies of the military regime, such as Government support to private enterprise, have received the approval of this faction. Allurements of power and position are being offered to gain its support.

"That faction is only too keen to fall for them. It is not prepared for a long, hard struggle against the army. The party leadership has preferred a path of peaceful coexistence, rather than confrontation, with the army. That is why the party has been deliberately made inactive. Issues and events have come and gone, with the Awami League not even caring to react to them," said one of Mr Rezzaks' followers.

Significantly enough, some of the prominent leaders in the pro-West faction consider any kind of cooperation with the army political suicide. They feel that any short-term gain made with the help of the army would seal the Awami League's fate for ever. And, with it, that of democracy in Bangladesh.

Sheikh Hasina Wazed rejects the possibility of her party coming to any understanding with the army, which she calls the "killer" of her father and four other senior leaders of her party. She still reiterates her demand for the trial of those involved in the killings and asks: "Understanding with whom? An army that believes in bullets and not democracy? There is no scope for any understanding with it".

Having gone through the rough and tumble of the past three years, her political perceptions are now said to be clearer and maturer than before. She emphasizes the need for party unity at this critical juncture and, like her father, balances one group against another.

#### Election

Senior leaders of the party say that the Awami League should not take part in any election with the army in power. It has had a bitter experience of participating in the manipulated elections of 1978, 1979 and 1981, which ensured Ziaur Rahman's and Abdus Sattar's victory. And, with Martial Law in force, there would be no deviation from the established practice of rigged elections. "Moreover, Ershad is talking of evolving new election norms, such as the Government giving money to political parties to fight elections. This would make the electoral contest even more unequal and the system more corrupt," said an Awami League leader.

Except for the breakaway group of Ziaur Rahman's Bangladesh Nationalist Party, no established party has so far shown any interest in becoming General Ershad's political ally. Leaders of the 11 other political parties, with whom the General has so far had parleys regarding the future political setup, have told him that they would not want to share power with the army.

The Chief Martial Law Administrator's efforts to secure himself in power are also due to his anxiety over the economic problems confronting Bangladesh. Economists say there is no hope of any significant improvement in the

situation in the near future. In fact, much of the army's failure to show any tangible results in the productive sectors has been due to economic hardships. For four years now, the flow of foreign aid has remained static at \$1,300 million, with its value going down in real terms because of worldwide inflation. This has resulted in a fall in imports (\$2,200 million, against the \$2,600 million of 1981-82) leading to a significant drop in production.

#### Constraints

Since 1981, there has been no improvement in agricultural production, which has stayed put at about 15 million tons. The scope for rapid increase in agricultural production is limited because of resource constraints. This year's aus crop has been bad. Food imports continue to be two million tons, with an equal off-take annually.

Food being a sensitive issue, General Ershad personally keeps track of supply and prices. In his operations room at the Secretariat in Dhaka, elaborate charts and indices display the current food stocks in godowns, their distribution and prices. It is largely because of this close watch that the regime has been able to keep the rice price steady at Taka 7 a seer.

The Government's gradual withdrawal from the core industrial sectors such as jute, cotton textiles, sugar, chemicals and steel, has resulted in a sharp fall in industrial production. In the case of jute and cotton textiles, it has been as much as 30%. This has come in the wake of disinvestment of a large number of nationalized units. Most of the disinvested units have been sold to private companies on extremely favourable terms. While fixing their prices, no consideration was shown for the huge investment made by the Government for over a decade to ensure their revival. Nor were their assets, including huge production stocks, revalued at current prices. Most of the new private owners are disposing of their assets for investment in trading.

Moreover, most of the production incentives, allowances and other fringe benefits provided to workers have been withdrawn by the new owners. This has happened in 22 of the 65 disinvested textile units, resulting in a fall in production. Although the regime calls this a transitional problem, it is worried by this development.

Alongside, a growing clash of interests is surfacing between the nationalized and private sectors. With the regime pledging all-out support for free private enterprise, this clash will become more pronounced in the coming months. Observers in Dhaka say that much of General Ershad's ability to survive will depend on how far he is able to tackle a host of such complex issues.

CSO: 4600/1094

# TRIBAL INSURGENTS CONSIDERING TERMS OF AMNESTY OFFERED BY GOVERNMENT

Doha GULF TIMES in English 8 Oct 83 p 6

[Article by Shahiduzzaman Khan: "Peace in the Hills?"]

[Text]

**T**RIBAL insurgent leaders in Bangladesh are reportedly making a cautious study of a general amnesty offered to secessionist rebels by military chief Lt Gen Ershad.

The leaders, hiding in hilly areas of Chittagong hill tracts, appear to be holding discussions about the possible outcome after any surrender to military authorities.

General Ershad, after careful study of continued insurgent activities, offered a five-year programme to improve tribal life: setting up more industries, schools and colleges, development of agriculture and co-operatives with active local participation, declaring also a pardon for "misguided persons" in Chittagong hills.

The general has offered a six-point measure for rehabilitation of surrenderers which includes relief in cash and kind, jobs in paramilitary and security forces and eligibility for a local vote.

Roots of insurgency lie in widespread tribal unrest following acquisition of hilly land to build massive government plants and power projects on during Pakistan days.

Affected people were allegedly denied proper compensation. After Bangladesh emerged a large number of young tribals went into hiding with big hauls of

arms from the liberation struggle.

Tribal unrest mounted following Sheikh Mujib government's decision to rehabilitate non-tribals with special facilities in hilly area, when insurgents joined with Indian Mizo rebels to demand a separate homeland.

Angry rebels began to kill rehabilitated non-locals and rampaged. During Zia's regime, army commanders sat many times with tribal leaders to settle the dispute with offers of many facilities. Ultimately all ended in failure.

General Zia had mobilised one third of his armed forces in Chittagong sector to fight growing insurgency. Ironically, he was assassinated in Chittagong by his own army men, not by tribal rebels.

After assuming power, General Ershad sent reinforcements to hilly areas and persuaded some rebel leaders to compromise.

Yet general sentiment appears to be still anti-government. Tribal insurgency is being led by Manabendra Lama, an educated man of Chakma origin, whereabouts not known.

Observers say it is hard to bring 1m tribals spread over hill tracts on a common platform, since they belong to numerous tribal communities.

Each community is led by one "raja" who is also their spiritual mentor.

# INDIAN PLAN FOR BARBED WIRE BORDER FENCE CRITICIZED

Dhaka SANGBAD in Bengali 5 Sep 83 p 4

[Text] India has surprised the world with its decision to erect a barbed wire fence in its eastern region along the Bangladesh border. Examples of protecting the border between two countries with a fence are rather rare in this world. The Sigfried Line at the German-French border and the Maginot Line there were built by the two neighboring countries, and after World War II, following the partition of Berlin, the principal city of divided Germany, the frontier between the two parts of the city was closed by the erection of a wall. Even then, no country before ever closed the entire frontier between two countries by setting up a wall or fence. It has never been heard before that even two belligerent neighboring countries had taken such an action. From this standpoint, the unilateral decision of India is without precedence.

However, the purpose of such a decision is no secret. The Indian authorities have stated rather directly that the purpose of the proposed fence is to stop the infiltrators. The proposal to erect a barbed wire fence was first publicized by the chief minister of Assam a few months after the state election was held amidst a widespread bloodbath in the state. The fact that the proposal was readily accepted by the central government in New Delhi was made clear from the statements made by highly responsible officials there. During his recent visit to Dhaka, Indian Foreign Minister Narasimha Rao in fact made it clear that India remains firm in its decision to erect a barbed wire fence, as there is no other way to halt the infiltrators. Therefore, it can be assumed that the plan to build the fence is under way.

Bangladesh has ample reasons to be upset about the purpose as stated. The underlying principle indicates that the people of Bangladesh are the cause of the disturbances and the bloodbath in Assam. It is they who are causing all the trouble by infiltrating into that state. But is this really the case? Even Indian newspapers and journals have not pointed an accusing finger at the Bangladeshis by blaming them for everything. All influential papers of India have published detailed accounts of the ghastly events in Assam with photographs. They have even printed detailed accounts of what and who were behind the scenes in these events. In this published material



there is no proof that the mass infiltration of our people after Bangladesh achieved freedom was the cause of the misfortunes in Assam. On the other hand, these published accounts reveal that the power struggle in that state, hatred toward ethnic and religious minority groups, rivalry between the tribal and nontribal people and the provocations and conspiracy of interested political circles were mainly responsible for the horrible events in Assam, and this has been acknowledged by everyone in a number of ways. It is regrettable that despite all these facts, an unprecedented action is going to be taken by bringing a blanket accusation against the people of this country. It is because of this disrespect shown to us that Bangladesh has strongly protested against the erection of a barbed wire fence. Otherwise, Bangladesh is not concerned about what India does or does not do within its own borders.

The point to consider is how much of the purpose for which such a decision has been taken can be fulfilled by setting up a barbed wire fence. The Indian Government will have to consider how such a fence can be erected on hills and high ground and over rivers and inlets. Landslides, flooding by mountain streams and the stampedes of wild elephants--will these not endanger the fence? There is a saying that a fence is no protection to crops. The failure to stop smuggling between the two countries is proof that such a saying is not wholly without truth. Both countries have strict vigilance at the borders to prevent smuggling and illegal trespassing. Those whose movements cannot be restricted despite this strict vigilance and those who continue their illegal activities despite all these precautions can certainly make their way through a barbed wire fence. How can these people be stopped by a barbed wire when they can easily escape the sentry outposts?

Second, the law-and-order situation in Assam and most of the eastern states of India has come to such a pass that to say nothing of migrating to that region, even the people living there for generations are now desperately trying to get out owing to the lack of security. An Indian periodical recently noted that the tribunal that was being formed for the purposes of identifying those who infiltrated since 1971 will be required to tour different areas. Two groups representing the ethnic minorities have notified the central Ministry of Home Affairs that the people who are to be summoned to prove their Indian citizenship are already afraid to go all the way to the district or area headquarters to present themselves before the tribunal. They are afraid to move because of the lack of safety. In a given situation of this nature, it is inconceivable that the people from other countries would like to go there at the risk of their lives.

To sum up, both countries have a number of problems relating to the border, and all problems can be resolved through negotiations. Leaders of both countries have repeatedly stated that India and Bangladesh have good-neighborly relations between them. A few days ago the Indian foreign minister himself once again emphasized the friendly relations between the two countries. Leaders of the two countries are often heard saying that these two close neighbors do not have any problems that cannot be resolved through negotiations. This is not untrue. So far, many problems existing



between the two countries have been solved that way. Nobody is unwilling to follow this path, nor has either side ever demonstrated an unwillingness or lack of sincerity in this matter. The only thing lacking has been a realistic approach. Actual events and the sources of problems should be analysed without emotion or sentiment. Representatives of both countries are engaged in negotiations on several issues; why not also take the initiative on the issue of a joint effort to curb the illegal infiltrators at the Bangladesh-Assam border? If a solution can be found that way, both sides will be benefited. Although India happens to be the most developed country in the subcontinent, it still has a large number of poor. Despite the adoption of special government programs to eradicate poverty, the expected progress has not been made owing to economic limitations. In the circumstances, if the problems of a barbed wire fence can be avoided, India will be able to save 50 million rupees. These are, of course, Indian internal matters, and the question of advising it in this respect is irrelevant. We mention this, however, taking into consideration the need for continued good relations between the two countries. It is not unrealistic to say that even a minimum level of strained relations between neighboring countries can create agitation among the common people.

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CSO: 4607/17

## NEW YORK HELD TO BE UNSUITABLE FOR UNITED NATIONS

Madras THE HINDU in English 23 Sep 83 p 8

[Editorial]

[Text] WHEN AT ITS first General Assembly meeting in Westminster, London, in January 1946, the United Nations chose New York as its headquarters the United States was more than pleased with the decision, because it was an honour it had actively sought. It becomes necessary to recall this now in the context of the "if you don't love us, you can leave us" remarks made by the second-in-command at the U.S. permanent mission. His sarcasm, it is apparent, was aimed not only at the Soviet Union with whom the U.S. is once again waging a furious cold war in the wake of the shooting down of the South Korean airliner, but also at those others in the United Nations whom the U.S. has, from time to time, described as the tyrannous majority.

Come to think of it, New York has progressively become unsuitable as the location for the world body's headquarters. Not only the Soviets and the Cubans, but the Arabs and the Africans as well feel unhappy and unwelcome in that city because it automatically reflects some of the hostility inherent in the United States' policies towards their countries or political choices. For all third world countries which constitute the majority of the U.N. membership New York has become prohibitively expensive; because it is crowded and blighted, their delegations also encounter serious housing, security and even parking problems in that metropolis.

The United Nations' primary concern is supposed to be the prevention of war and the preservation of peace — the territory of a superpower which is periodically buffeted by cold war passions can hardly provide the atmosphere in which such issues can be given serious and sober consideration. The demand for shifting the U.N.'s headquarters to more congenial surroundings crops up every now and then. Khrushchev was the first to raise it in 1960 after restrictions were placed on his movements in New York when he came there to attend that year's General Assembly session. The Soviet Union has raised the issue again now after the U.S. — clearly in violation of the Headquarters Agreement which governs the U.N.'s location in U.S. territory — has told the Soviet Union that its foreign minister's plane could land only in an American military airfield. This episode should suggest even to those members who are not involved in the cold war games that maybe it is time serious thought was given to shifting the U.N. to another capital — Vienna which has been mentioned before has much to commend it. It is more centrally located and is already the home of several U.N. specialised agencies; more than that, it happens to be situated in a country which has emerged as an enlightened nation which keeps itself away, in practice, from the power blocs.

CSO: 4600/1084

## BUSINESSMEN TELL RESULTS OF SOVIET, EAST EUROPE TOUR

Madras THE HINDU in English 23 Sep 83 p 6

[Text] NEW DELHI, Sept. 22--A 15-member delegation of industrialists, sponsored by the Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry (Assocham), has returned from a two-week tour of the Soviet Union, East Germany, Poland and Hungary with the impression that trade with these countries could be stepped up considerably and joint ventures established in the private sector not only in India but in third countries and in 100 per cent export zones.

Mr. Raunaq Singh, who led the delegation told prssmen here that the Soviet authorities had indicated that they could buy annually Rs. 3000 crores worth of consumer goods from India. In addition, the evinced interest in joint ventures in India for 100 per cent export to the Soviet Union on a long-term basis. The areas indicated for such ventures included ship building, ship repair and textiles.

During its talks, the delegation drove home the need for greater dissemination of knowledge about the availability of technology and machinery which could be imported by India. To fill the information gap it suggested that East European countries should participate in a larger measure in industrial fairs and display items of machinery allowed to be imported by India under the Open General Licence.

Mr. Raunaq Singh felt that the discussions had resulted in opening the doors of the Soviet Union for the Indian private sector. Hitherto, Moscow had been buying commodities through the Indian private sector but settling to India only through the public sector. Now he expected the Indian private sector to play a greater role in both buying and selling. India could sell much more than the Rs. 3000 crores worth of consumer goods a year indicated by the Soviet Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Ivan Arkhipov, provided it could buy more in return.

Mr. Raunaq Singh said it was necessary to build up trade with these countries and ease the problem of the deficits with the USSR and Poland. One objective of the delegation was to identify items of machinery that could be imported from these countries, since further increase in import of raw materials was considered difficult unless India bought more machinery.

Attractive terms: Mr. Raunaq Singh said the terms of sale by the East European countries, particularly the USSR and Poland, were quite attractive compared to those available from the West. But lack of information about the technologies and machinery available there suitable to Indian industrial programmes was proving a major handicap. For example, it was not known to most in India that the USSR had supplied advanced steel technology to Kobe Steel of Japan. Similarly, Poland had supplied advanced mining technology to England.

The main thrust of presentation by the Assocham delegation was that both India and the East European countries, including the USSR, must reduce their dependence on Western countries for the supply of goods. The delegation also referred to difficulties in obtaining spare-parts for machinery obtained from these countries, because of which several entrepreneurs were hesitant about buying machinery from the USSR and East European sources.

Mr. Singh said the USSR was keen on utilising India's services for ship building and ship repair. At present, the Soviet Union was getting ships built in Poland and ship repair work was given to Japan, Korea, Singapore and other countries of the South-East Asian region. The Soviet side was eager that India should develop facilities for ship building and ship repair.

Poland and the GDR, he said, were keen on participating in India's power sector programmes and indicated that they would be in a position to supply complete power plants on a competitive basis. Poland had advanced technology for ship building and mining industries and the delegation came back with the distinct impression that these were the areas where India could benefit by its purchases from Poland. The GDR had immense potential for supply of micro electronics and machinery items.

The delegation also discussed possibilities of utilising the technologies available in these countries, to produce goods for their markets under India's 100 per cent export-oriented units scheme, provided there were long-term purchasing and pricing agreements. The delegation suggested that production from these units could be increased of items purchased by these countries from Western sources now. The idea found a favourable response in all the countries, Mr. Singh added.

CSO: 4600/1084

## PRESS REPORTS, REACTION TO GANDHI LETTER TO ANDROPOV

## Reason for Letter Questioned

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 24 Sep 83 p 8

[Editorial]

[Text]

It is truly extraordinary that Mrs. Gandhi should have sent a letter to Mr. Andropov through a CPI leader, Mr. Yogendra Sharma. Indeed, if Mr. Sharma had not personally confirmed that he had carried such a letter, we would have found a report to that effect incredible. It can be argued in Mrs. Gandhi's favour that she did not write in her capacity as Prime Minister to Mr. Andropov in his capacity as president of the Soviet Union. The point is well taken, but only on a superficial view. For if Mrs. Gandhi wrote as president of the Congress (I) to Mr. Andropov as secretary-general of the Soviet Communist Party, the assumption on her part would be that there is a "fraternal" relationship between the two parties. As far as the country knows, no such relationship exists or has ever existed between the CPSU and the Congress. In fact, none can exist so long as the Congress (I) remains the nationalist organisation it is and does not seek to replace the CPI as an advocate of "proletarian internationalism". So we are back to square one. In what capacity did Mrs. Gandhi write to Mr. Andropov?

If we assume for the sake of argument that Mrs. Gandhi acted as president of the Congress (I), we are face to face with a number of other questions. Why did she choose an active communist leader to act as her courier? How could he feel free to disclose the contents of the letter to the so-called foreign desk of the CPI? Possible answers to these questions would suggest that Mrs. Gandhi, or someone else on her behalf, was in touch with Mr. Sharma who has been pressing within the CPI a policy line favourable to her, that the letter was in all probability intended to strengthen his position in his party, even if it was not written at his own suggestion, and that he was allowed to show it to his party-men precisely for that reason. By this reckoning, Mr. Sharma was more than a courier. He was the Congress (I) president's representative to Mr. Andropov. It will be interesting to find out whether the Soviet leader in fact received Mr. Sharma, or whether Mr. Sharma as Mrs. Gandhi's representative had to content himself with discussions with some academicians. And who advised Mrs. Gandhi to act in this manner?



But let us push these issues, however important, aside for the time being and pose two central questions. Does Mrs. Gandhi seriously believe that the Soviet leadership will wish and is in a position to order the CPI to follow a line convenient to her? And why is she so exercised over the CPI's stand? The answer to the first question must obviously be in the affirmative. Why else would she have written to Mr. Andropov? But having earlier failed to convert Mr. Brezhnev to the desirability and possibility of such an intervention on his part, she had to have special reasons to convince herself that Mr. Andropov would both be more forthcoming (obliging) and effective. An awareness of possible Soviet calculations and developments within what is left of the world communist movement would have left her in little doubt that such a conclusion was unwarranted. Like other powers, the Soviets have begun to think of post-Indira India. In that India, a left front with the two communist parties in it can be useful to them. Mr. Andropov does not have the necessary authority to order the CPI or any other party, even if he was so inclined. The CPI can agree to fall in line only if it is willing to sever ties with the CPM — ties it has developed with considerable effort and without which its very survival could be in jeopardy. More arguments can be adduced to show that Mrs. Gandhi was ill-advised to approach Mr. Andropov. But that might not be necessary.

This leaves us with the second and in a sense the more important question. Unfortunately, the answer is difficult to find. The CPI is a small formation, to use currently fashionable Marxist jargon. It does not have at its disposal many battalions (safe constituencies), not to speak of divisions (states or regions where it is a dominant force). In fact, that is the main reason why it has accepted what in effect amounts to junior partnership with the CPM. So it cannot be of much use to Mrs. Gandhi in electoral terms, which consideration is supposed to dominate her thinking these days. In any case, the CPI can be an asset of whatever size to her only if she is thinking of a possible alliance, or at least an electoral understanding, with it. Is she, considering that the cost can be quite unacceptable? Why then the concern? Perhaps Mrs. Gandhi values the leftist image more than it is justified by the country's political realities. This is a weak answer. But a more convincing one is elusive.

#### Inder Malhotra Commentary

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 29 Sep 83 p 8

[Article by Inder Malhotra]

[Text]

TO nobody's surprise, except perhaps her own, Mrs. Gandhi is under attack for "inviting" — through her most extraordinary letter to Mr. Andropov, sent to Moscow with the now disgraced CPI leader, Mr. Yogendra Sharma — a "foreign power to interfere in this country's politics". Since the news of the Andropov letter, reportedly criticising the CPI for "ganging up with rightist and reactionary forces" in the country against Mrs. Gandhi,

burst only after her departure for overseas, there has been no response to the criticism by her or on her behalf, the government of India having, for all practical purposes, temporarily gone abroad along with the Prime Minister.

But careful observers of the scene have not failed to notice the thundering silence on the part of those Congress (I) leaders who normally shout themselves hoarse in defence of their leader in season and out of season. Even that

compulsive talker who wallows in slanging matches. Mr. C. M. Stephen is tongue-tied. The reasons for this are not far to seek.

In the first place, Mrs. Gandhi's curious epistle to Mr. Andropov, unlike the notorious Zinoviev letter of the thirties, is not a fake. Mr. Sharma, before receiving his punishment from his comrades, confirmed its authenticity and confessed to having carried it to the Soviet capital behind his party's back. Secondly, every Congress (I) leader, like the bewildered functionaries of the foreign office, to say nothing of the newspaper readers, have been taken totally by surprise. Some of them are indeed stunned that their leader, famous for her political skill and tactical virtuosity, should have placed herself so clearly in the wrong.

At the same time while a great many people have read the letter and its contents are not difficult to obtain, its text is still being kept a closely guarded secret even by those who have used it to pillory Mr. Sharma. And in the absence of the text, it is difficult to establish or disprove whether Mrs. Gandhi in fact asked the Soviet president and party leader to intercede with the CPI and persuade it to abandon its opposition to her — which is, after all, the gravamen of the charge against her.

### Messenger, A Ploy

On the other hand, it can be argued, plausibly enough, that the precise wording of the letter is immaterial and that the purpose of a letter on Indian politics, sent to Mr. Andropov through a dissident CPI leader who wants his party to offer full support to Mrs. Gandhi, ought to be crystal clear.

Rather than get involved in this debate, it will be more useful to reconstruct the circumstances in which the letter was sent as well as to reproduce, to the extent possible, its contents. But a brief introductory remark is in order.

It is no secret that in recent years the late Mr. Brezhnev was also told of the CPI's antipathy to Mrs. Gandhi and he in fact pleaded with the CPI leaders, unsuccessfully as it turned out, for a reversal of their stance. If the idea was to request, explicitly or implicitly, Mr. Andropov to pick up the threads where Mr. Brezhnev had left them, this could surely have been done quietly and behind the scenes. And if, for some reason, it was considered expedient to send a letter, there was no reason to do so through

such an unorthodox channel. As it happened Mr. R. Venkataraman left New Delhi for Moscow by the same plane that Mr. Yogendra Sharma did. The defence minister could as easily have carried the letter.

Quite clearly therefore the use of Mr. Sharma as the courier was an integral part of Mrs. Gandhi's decision — for whatever reason — to write to Mr. Andropov. This was a case of the messenger being the message.

What was Mrs. Gandhi trying to achieve through this ploy can only be a subject of speculation and conjecture. She might well have hoped to kill two birds with one stone: to show to the new Soviet leader that some Indian Communists at least enjoyed her trust and more should therefore be encouraged to earn it and, at the same time, to enthrone Mr. Sharma and those of his way of thinking to intensify their struggle, within the councils of the CPI, against Mr. C. Rajeswara Rao's line of trenchant opposition to her.

### Stratagem Failed

In the event, the stratagem has boomeranged. Not only have her critics been able to accuse her of "compromising the country's sovereignty" — a charge which has never before been laid at her door for the simple reason that no one has upheld national sovereignty and honour as steadfastly as she — but within the CPI those favourably disposed towards her have been embarrassed. They found it necessary and expedient to forsake Mr. Sharma once Mr. Rajeswara Rao started the onslaught on him.

It is noteworthy that at the central executive committee's meeting it was decided to divest Mr. Sharma of his membership of the CEC, leadership of the party in the Rajya Sabha and editorship of a Hindi weekly and an English monthly. The committee wanted him to retain his membership of the party's national council. It was the national council that insisted on expelling Mr. Sharma also from its own ranks. Only two members — Mr. Ramesh Sinha and Mr. Sarjoo Pande — voted against the decision while less than a dozen, including Mr. Mohit Sen, Mr. H. K. Vyas, Mrs. Renu Chakravarty, Mr. Bhogendra Jha and Mr. Gogoi, abstained from voting. The only reason why they refrained from standing up and being counted was they could not condone either "collusion" with Mrs. Gandhi or an attempt to

involve the CPSU in purely Indian affairs.

To say this is not to pretend that Moscow is without influence in the CPI or that it is not trying to exercise this influence. One has only to look at the virulence with which the journals on the CPI's periphery are attacking Mr. Rajeswara Rao to come face to face with reality. At the same time, the message contained in recent articles on India in the Soviet press is also loud and clear and must have been endorsed by the well-known CPSU functionary, Mr. Kitsubin, during his latest visit to New Delhi on the eve of the CPI national-council's meeting.

But it is only fair to underscore that gone are the days when the CPI would catch cold—the moment the word went round that CPSU had sneezed. In fact, Mr. Rajeswara Rao's declaration that the CPI does not take its cue from the CPSU is no empty boast. This trend towards independent thinking and action is strengthened moreover by the CPI's overpowering quest for unity with the CPM which absolutely refuses to give any quarter to those who want the CPI to practise dangeism without Mr. Dange.

Under these circumstances, it is truly astonishing that either Mrs. Gandhi or any of her advisers should have thought that Mr. Andropov would be able to bring about a change in the CPI's line, adopted at Bhatinda and endorsed at Varanasi. The Prime Minister and the self-styled Machiavellis surrounding her will do well to realise, at least at this late stage, that just as Moscow is unable to manipulate Eurocommunism, it is equally helpless in the face of what can only be called "Indocommunism."

However, to revert to the strange story of the "my dear general secretary" letter, the date on which it was written and sent is very significant. It was on June 21 that Mr. Sharma, like Mr. Venkataraman, was catching the plane for Moscow. The next day was the anniversary of the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941 during the second world war. And this gave Mrs. Gandhi what in the journalistic jargon is called the "peg" for the letter.

She began the letter with a reference to the fortuitous fact Mr. Yogendra Sharma was leaving for treatment in the Soviet Union on such a historic day, praised the heroic fight the Soviet peoples had put up against fascism, recalled what Mr. Sharma had told her about the earlier celebration (on

May 9) of the anniversary of victory over fascism and added that old threats were once again confronting the world.

After stating that she had just returned from a visit to Western Europe, Mrs. Gandhi went on to say that while in Europe the renewed danger of war and fascism was adequately realised, in her own country both the right and the left were gangina up on her to oppose her progressive policies.

### Suggestion Ignored

The operative and concluding part of the letter was that Mr. Sharma "who has been in touch with us" would doubtless discuss the situation with Mr. Andropov and tell him more about it.

Mrs. Gandhi's letter, which curiously was unsealed, was delivered to Mr. Sharma at his Windsor Place residence about two hours before he was driven to the airport by Mr. R. K. Garg, recently expelled from the CPI for "anti-party" activity. If Mr. Sharma so wanted he could have told his colleagues — surely Mr. Indra-

deep Sinha who lives next door — about the letter. But he did not do so. He made a copy of the letter in his hand in the plane, however, and kept it with him. It was later passed on, in Moscow, to Mr. N. K. Krishnan.

It was to a minor functionary in the CPSU secretariat that Mr. Sharma delivered the letter. The Russian apparatchik bluntly asked him if the CPI knew about the letter. Only after this conversation was the copy of the letter given to Mr. Krishnan. The Russians also informed the CPI through normal channels. Disciplinary action against Mr. Sharma started as soon as he returned home in August.

Meanwhile the most important thing about the whole unsavoury episode is not that the dissident CPI leader has come to grief but that despite Mrs. Gandhi's clear hint that he should receive Mr. Sharma, Mr. Andropov conspicuously refrained from doing so. Both Mrs. Gandhi and her critics can draw their own conclusions from this.

### CPI 'Unaware of Letter'

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 4 Oct 83 p 1

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Oct 3.

The CPI leadership today stuck to its stand that it was not aware of any letter from the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, to the Soviet President, Mr. Yun Andropov, on the role of the left parties in the country.

"As far as we are concerned, the letter does not exist", a CPI spokesman asserted.

However, Mr. Yogendra Sharma, a veteran CPI leader, who has been expelled from the party, who carried the letter, was equally firm in his stand that he had given the copy of the letter to Mr. N. K. Krishnan, the party's National Council Secretary.

A CPI spokesman, when told that Mr. Sharma had named Mr. Krishnan, a senior functionary, as the person to whom he handed over a copy of the controversial letter, said, "How can we be sure that he (Mr. Sharma) is not making an incorrect statement".

"If he has the letter, let him publish it," the spokesman added.

Mr. Sharma, who carried the letter in June

last when he went to Moscow for treatment, said he could not inform the party leaders that he was carrying the letter before he left for Moscow as he had no time. He was categorical that he had not committed any impropriety in carrying the letter.

It was usual practice for the MPs to meet the Prime Minister before they went abroad. It was also the normal practice for the head of the Government to send messages to his or her counterpart through the MPs, he asserted.

Mr. Sharma said reports that Mrs. Gandhi had sought Mr. Andropov's help to ensure that the left parties in India did not weaken her Government were "distortions" of the letter. There was nothing in the letter to suggest this, he added.

The letter discussed, in general terms, the international and internal situation. Referring to internal situation, Mrs. Gandhi mentioned the problems in Assam, Punjab and the borders of Tamil Nadu. She also referred to the attitude of the political parties, both right and left, PTI.

## Congress-I Secretary's Comment

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 4 Oct 83 p 1

[Text] NEW DELHI, Oct. 3--Mr C. M. Stephen, general secretary of the Congress (I), said here today that if the contents of the letter purported to have been written by Mrs Gandhi and sent through a CPI leader to Moscow were true, as reported in the Press, there was nothing new about the matter. "This is not the first time that the Prime Minister has told a foreign dignitary that the Left and the Right had combined together against her".

According to UNI, the letter was sent through Mr Yogendra Sharma, a senior CPI leader to President Andropov. Knowledgeable sources said she had not highlighted the dangers in the CPI's bid to weaken the Central Government when it was faced with external dangers on the western north-eastern and the southern frontiers. She did not seek Mr Andropov's intervention to persuade the CPI to support her.

Mr Sharma disclosed that Mrs Gandhi wrote the letter at his suggestion last June when he was going to the Soviet Union for medical treatment.

He expressed surprise at the CPI general secretary, Mr Rajeswara Rao's statement that he was not aware of the letter. A copy of it had been sent to the party office.

Mr Sharma refused to say whether this was the ground for the disciplinary action against him by the CPI National Council. According to insiders, this was the main reason.

Mr Rajeswara Rao had objected to "a CPI leader carrying a communication from a bourgeois leader (Mrs Indira Gandhi) to the Soviet President and general secretary of the CPSU, Mr Yuri Andropov, without the permission of the central office".

Sources said the propriety or otherwise of Mr Sharma's action was the main subject of debate both in the Politburo and central committee which met here last month, leading eventually to Mr Sharma being stripped of his key position.

Party leaders are being deputed to every State to explain that this was the ground for the drastic action against Mr Sharma.

Mr Stephen, who was talking to reporters, recalled that Mrs Gandhi had said the same thing in Moscow when Brezhnev was alive.

He added that there was nothing wrong in telling the world what "these people" --the Communists--were, especially when they went about seeking to create an impression that they were influencing the external policies of this country. "Nobody need be under any impression that these can influence the policies of this Government".

He ridiculed the suggestion that the Congress (I) was seeking CPI support. "To expect us to ask for CPI support is an insult to us. As far as we are concerned, the CPI is not an important factor".

Referring to the speeches at yesterday's NDA rally, he said it was a good sign that Opposition groups had started swearing by the unity and integrity of the country and that, as a corollary, the question was being put to the people as to who could preserve that unity and integrity.

CSO: 4600/1092



COMMERCE MINISTER REPORTS ON VISIT TO SOVIET UNION

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 26 Sep 83 p 7

[Text] COMMERCE Minister Vishwanath Pratap Singh has said that Indo-Soviet trade was poised for a major leap forward with the Soviet Union's readiness to purchase goods worth Rs 500 crores during the current calendar year, reports UNI.

This will be in addition to what has already been contracted so far in an overall bid to achieve balanced trade.

Mr Singh told UNI the one big achievement of his recent visit to the Soviet Union was in breaking the deadlock on purchases from this country.

He said it was in connection with the additional purchases that a Soviet trade delegation was coming here either next month or early November to finalise the proposals now on the anvil.

Mr Singh disclosed that Soviet Deputy Foreign Trade Minister I. T. Grishin was expected here in December for finalising the trade plan for 1984. In this context, he said, during his Soviet trip both sides had agreed to pitch up the quantum of bilateral trade.

Mr Singh said he also proposed having a dialogue with countries of the eastern bloc for enlarging mutually beneficial trade between India and these countries.

He suggested that a seminar be held in the Capital where besides Government officials, representatives of the private and public sectors could discuss in depth the potentialities for increasing trade ties with the socialist countries as a whole.

Mr Singh felt India could find a large market for its agriculture produce in the Soviet Union.

Underscoring the need to establish trade with the Socialist bloc on a sound footing and continuing basis, he said an exercise was already on in his Ministry to identify goods and items which India could buy from them.

He was happy that representatives of the corporate sector had ventured to the Soviet Union with the specific purpose of charting areas of cooperation for the first time.

Answering questions about the problems of textile workers in Bombay, Mr Singh said the government was concerned that a large number of these workers continued to remain without employment for various reasons. He said he had drawn up an action plan whereby the employment of these workers would be taken care of.

Mr Singh refused to disclose the scheme he had in mind as he was visiting Bombay tomorrow for talks with State Government officials and representatives of workers and the dozen financially weak textile mills.

"I have made up my mind not to let them (textile mills and workers) drift. By October end the specifics of the scheme will be known and the problem resolved," he added.

CSO: 4600/1090

## INDIA, SWEDEN TO UPGRADE BILATERAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 26 Sep 83 p 9

[Article by K. N. Malik]

[Text] LONDON, September 25--INDIA and Sweden have decided to upgrade bilateral economic relations. It has been decided that in future the joint Indo-Swedish economic commission will be headed by a top political functionary to be nominated by each Prime Minister as chairperson of the commission.

The step to improve and enlarge economic contacts was taken when the Indian industry minister, Mr. N. D. Tiwari, visited Sweden last week. Mr. Tiwari discussed the modalities of enlarged scope of contacts with his counterpart in Sweden.

India is keen on acquiring sophisticated technology in the fields of special steel, communication and defence. At present, India has an adverse balance of trade with Sweden. Indian exports last year were about Rs. 30 crores while it imported from Sweden goods worth about Rs. 82 crores. The Indian import figures are excluding the value of defence items. If one takes the defence purchases into account, the imbalance will further tilt against India.

## Long-Term Ties

Mr. Tiwari's talks, therefore, were to persuade Swedes not only to part with sophisticated technology that India needed but also to convince the Swedish government that long-term mutually beneficial relations could be established only if special efforts were made to identify and purchase goods and commodities by Sweden. The countries could also collaborate on projects in third countries or at least set up projects in India which would manufacture goods for export to third countries.

Representatives BHEL and HMT are already looking for possibilities for collaboration with Swedish industry. A joint business council is to be set up and a high power team of the Swedish federation of industry is to soon visit India to help identify areas of mutual collaboration.

Mr. Tiwari also attended a joint Indo-Swedish seminar to boost Indian exports to Sweden. He said similar seminars would be arranged in countries would

could be potential buyers of not only traditional but manufacturing industry items from India.

#### Indo-Czech Panel

Mr. Tiwari also attended the meeting of joint Indo-Czechoslovak economic commission. He also took this opportunity to persuade the Czech authorities to upgrade tractor technology given to India. It was agreed to produce 80 HP tractors in India. At present India manufactures 50 HP tractors under licence from Czechoslovakia.

Since Czechoslovakia has stopped manufacturing 25 HP tractors, which India makes at Pinjore, it has asked Czechoslovakia to purchase the tractor from India for use within the country or export to other countries. Talks for strengthening contacts in pharmaceutical and electronic fields were also held.

Mr. Tiwari, who was in London for a day on his way to India held discussions with his British counterpart on the possibilities of transfer of technology. He also discussed various youth training and employment schemes which could be used in India to reduce pressures of unemployment in urban areas.

CSO: 4600/1089

INDIA, IRAN AGREE TO INCREASE BILATERAL TRADE

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 26 Sep 83 p 7

[Text] India and Iran have agreed to increase 'drastically' their bilateral trade transactions and further promote the joint ventures, reports PTI.

With all the 'bottlenecks' cone after the successful discussion the Iranian delegation held with the Central Ministers during the last couple of days, the Indian exports to Iran were likely to touch the 400 million dollars mark in the near future, Dr Abbas Honardoost, Deputy Minister of Petroleum of the Islamic Republic of Iran and leader of the visiting Iranian delegation told newsmen in Delhi on Friday.

Dr Honardoost said the Iranian exports to India which presently stood at 15 million dollars was also likely to be doubled. This, however, did not include the crude oil exports to India since oil came under a separate specified category, the Iranian Minister said.

Dr Honardoost said Iran was shortly going to open an independent commercial office in India to facilitate the boost in the bilateral trade.

Dr Honardoost said their discussions with the Indian leaders also covered the joint ventures including the Madras fertilizer and Madras refinery.

The fruitful discussions had cleared all the miscellaneous difficulties in the bilateral trade and would pave the way for further cooperation between the two friendly countries, he said.

The Iranian Petroleum Minister claimed that an oil well in Norouz where 2,000 barrels of crude was going waste every day after it had been bombarded by the Iraqi planes, had been successfully capped by the Iranian technicians without any assistance from foreign experts. A team of Indian technicians which visited Norouz recently had appreciated the job done by the Iranian experts, he said. They had also discussed the question of increasing technical cooperation between the two countries, the Iranian Minister said.

Replying to questions, Dr Honardoost said as per the OPEC London conference decision, his country was exporting 2.4 million barrels per day though its capacity to export was much more.



Dr Honardoost said India and Iran are signing a technical memorandum for increasing technical cooperation between the two countries.

He said that the modalities of the proposed technical cooperation were finalised during the prolonged discussions with Indian Energy Minister P Shiv Shankar and Ministers of Industry, Finance and External Affairs.

Dr Hondardoost said it was a pillar of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran to promote the bilateral cooperation with India with which it had traditional and historical ties over the last 1,000 years.

CSO: 4600/1090

## INDIAN DELEGATE OPPOSES IMF LENDING LIMITS

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 27 Sep 83 pp 1, 9

[Text] WASHINGTON, Sept. 26--The USA and its industrial and developing country partners in the International Monetary Fund's top policy-making body struck a compromise early today on the future limits of lending by the IMF to financially troubled countries, report AFP and PTI.

The U.S. Treasury Secretary, Mr Donal Regan, and the Finance Ministers of the other 21 countries making up the IMG's interim committee agreed on a two-tier solution that will not involve any early phasing out of the IMF policy of "enlarged access", according to one of the Ministers.

Access limits will, normally be 102% of member countries' quota--or subscription--in the Fund, for periods of up to three years, or a total of 306%. But for countries faced with "severe" payments problems, which commit themselves to stringent adjustment programmes under IMF supervision, the limit will be 125% or 375% over three years.

The figure of 125% was a compromise between the developing countries, which wanted access to 150% and the USA which wanted a ceiling of 102% for all countries. One minister said Mr Regan had made it clear that he would not leave the negotiating table without a reference to 102% as being the normal figure.

Dr Manmohan Singh, leader of the Indian delegation to the annual meeting of the World Bank and IMF, has told the IMF's interim committee that it is essential now to make substantial allocations of special drawing rights on a sustained basis. An allocation of SDRs under present conditions, he said, would be supportive of the process of recovery and would not be "inflationary".

Dr Singh opposed the U.S. proposal to reduce access limits when the new enlarged IMF quota becomes effective. He said that it was essential to maintain the potential access of members in real terms considering the intensified financing needs of potential users of Fund resources on account of the steep rise in their debt service, sharp decline in commercial bank financing and the cumulative trade losses which were much larger now than in 1981 when the agreed access policy was adopted.

Dr Singh said that while it was true that economic performance in 1983 would show improvement over 1982 for both developed and developing countries, this was cold comfort since 1982 was a disaster year for the world economy.

The world economy was now stumbling into a weak and uncertain recovery, a recovery that was "distressingly fragile". There was now scope as well as an urgent need for a shift of policies towards more active stimulus, particularly in large industrial countries whose inflation rates were currently low.

"While we must do everything in our power to curb inflationary expectations, we must also devise more humane and rational mechanisms than creation of mass unemployment for preventing an excessive rise in wage claims unrelated to the growth of productivity".

Dr Singh pointed out that the benefits of a relatively stable dollar price of oil had been greatly neutralized by the sharp appreciation of the exchange rate of the dollar. The result was that rates of growth were being lowered below anticipated levels. The oil-importing developing countries were particularly hard hit.

UNI adds: India regards as a retrograde step the reduction of access to IMF facilities for developing countries from the present 150% to 102%. According to official information received in New Delhi from Washington, the interim committee of the IMF had decided last night to reduce the lending terms over opposition by India and others.

India was supported by 17 African countries represented by Zimbabwe and six other nations led by Algeria. India's note of dissent has been recorded in the communique issued after the committee meeting.

Reacting to the decision, official sources in New Delhi said that in one stroke, developing countries had lost a lot of gains that they had made during the past 15 years.

CSO: 4600/1091

## MINISTER TELLS ECONOMISTS OF PLAN PROGRESS

Madras THE HINDU in English 23 Sep 83 p 9

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Sept. 22.

Mr. S. B. Chavan, Union Planning Minister, said here today that an important question which should be considered in the preparation of the approach to the Seventh Plan was whether the planning exercise should continue to be in terms of constant prices or whether some allowance should be made for a rise in prices.

Addressing a panel of economists, Mr. Chavan said that according to the latest estimates, the total public sector outlay in the first four years of the Sixth Plan would be around 84 per cent of the Plan provision of Rs. 97,500 crores. He, however, admitted that inflation, particularly in the cost of capital goods, had eroded the real value of Plan investments. At 1979-80 prices, the total public sector Plan outlay would represent only 63 per cent of the target.

This was despite the Central and State Governments making a big effort to mobilise additional resources. In nominal terms, the additional resource mobilisation effort in the first four years of the Plan, both by the Centre and the States, was likely to exceed the targets for the whole of the Sixth Plan.

Nearer the lower end: Mr. Chavan, however, said that in spite of the inflationary erosion in the real value of investments, the Sixth Plan targets were likely to be fulfilled in full or adequate measure. In agriculture, as against the 1984-85 foodgrains production target of 149-154 million tonnes, achievement may be nearer the lower end of the range, that is, 146-148 million tonnes. Sugarcane may also show a shortfall.

However, the production of commodities

like cotton, major oilseeds, jute and mesta, tea and coffee was expected to be generally equal to the Sixth Plan targets. In sugar and vanaspathi, targets may be equalled or exceeded. The creation and utilisation of additional irrigation potential had helped materially in increasing agricultural production. However, further measures, including the construction of field channels, were necessary to improve the utilisation of irrigation facilities.

Shortfalls in steel: In the field of manufactured goods, the production of machine tools, certain items of industrial machinery, earth-moving equipment, commercial vehicles, motor cycles and scooters, newsprint, etc. was expected to exceed targets. The production of cement, fertilizer, agricultural tractors, hydro-turbines, thermal turbines, paper and paper board and jute manufactures was likely to be equal to or not very short of the targets. There would, however, be shortfalls in respect of certain important items like steel, non-ferrous metals, petro-chemicals, railway locomotives, coaches and wagons, textiles and electronics.

Mr. Chavan said that in the energy sector, the production of crude oil and petroleum products would be substantially in excess of the original Sixth Plan targets as a result of the accelerated oil development programmes adopted by the Government.

The demand for freight movement by the Railways was a derived one and was now estimated at 280-285 million tonnes for 1984-85, against the original target of 309 million tonnes. The Railways' capacity for clearance of traffic in 1981-82 and 1982-83 remained broadly adequate to meet the demand.

CSO: 4600/1084

## ANALYST SPECULATES ON BORDER TALKS WITH PRC

## New Proposals Possible

Madras THE HINDU in English 26 Sep 83 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Sept. 27.

The next round of official-level talks between India and China — the fourth in the current series on the border problem — will begin in Delhi on October 24 and may go on for about a week depending on how the two sides proceed with the discussions.

The Chinese are sending this time a fairly high-power delegation consisting of the new Vice-Foreign Minister dealing with Sino-Indian relations, Mr. Gong Dafei, and the Assistant Minister in charge of the Asia Division, Mr. Liu Shuqing, besides several senior officials who had taken part in the earlier exchanges.

After the previous Vice-Foreign Minister, Mr. Han Nianlong, had conducted the first round of talks in Beijing in December, 1981, his successor, Mr. Fu Hao, headed the Chinese team during the second and third rounds held in Delhi and Beijing in May, 1982, and January, 1983, while the new appointee to this key post, Mr. Gong Dafei, will be leading the Chinese delegation to the fourth round.

The Chinese Foreign Minister, Mr. Wu Xueqian, who is now in New York attending the U.N. General Assembly session, has asked for a meeting with his Indian counterpart, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, for what is described as a general exchange of views on both bilateral and international issues. This meeting has assumed some additional importance in view of the impending talks on the border problem.

Some hints: It is anybody's guess whether China would come forward with some new ideas on the border issue or continue to treat this dialogue for its own reasons as no more than an on-going ritual that has to be kept up if only to avoid a breakdown. But there have been some hints from the Chinese side that Beijing is now ready to move forward to the next stage if India is prepared to engage in substantive discussions, without merely going through the motions of restating their respective positions.

After her return to Delhi, the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, will have to give

some serious thought to the strategy to be adopted at the next round if the intention is to carry forward this dialogue to the stage of detailed discussions. The Government can no longer afford to leave the initiative entirely to China.

Amidst its preoccupation with other problems, India has not been devoting much attention to this dialogue with China because of the prevailing impression that nothing concrete will emerge from it. But the Government does not want to be caught unprepared if China comes forward with some new proposals.

If Mr. Deng Xiaoping's package offer, in the take-it-or-leave-it form in which it has been presented, is unacceptable to India because it only seeks to transform the present *de facto* position to a *de jure* one by legalising the illegal occupation of territory through military action, the Indian side must spell out what in its view should be the starting point for negotiating a fair and equitable settlement by taking the existing realities into consideration. The Government has to make up its mind whether it would be more advantageous to engage in serious negotiations at this stage after making its own assessment of how far China would be prepared to go in settling this problem.

First moves: The Chinese made the first moves for normalisation during the Janata regime, starting with the visit of the former External Affairs Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, in February 1979 in the context of their strained relationship with the Soviet Union. The current Sino-Indian dialogue was initiated, despite China's strong disapproval of the Indian recognition of the Heng Samrin regime in Kampuchea, in the wake of Beijing's growing disenchantment with the United States.

But, now, China and the U.S. have started talking once again of their shared strategic concerns, in spite of Beijing's efforts to improve relations with the Soviet Union. India is waiting to see what shape the latest American overtures to China would take following the visit of the U.S. Defence Secretary, Mr. Casper Weinberger, to Beijing.



## International Issues Included

Madras THE HINDU in English 3 Oct 83 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Oct. 2.

The Chinese have proposed, strangely enough, an exchange of views on international issues as one of the agenda items for the next round of official level Sino-Indian talks opening on October 24 in Delhi.

Though no such discussion on the international situation took place at the previous three rounds, India will have no objection to an exchange of views on any non-bilateral issue of mutual interest, provided it is clearly understood that the dialogue is primarily intended for carrying forward the talks on the border problem.

It is true that the border issue itself is being discussed within the broad framework of the steps under way for normalisation of relations in various spheres, but on the clear understanding that a boundary settlement is central to this process of better relations. It is only in this context that the two sides have been talking of the prospects for increased trade, scientific cooperation and cultural exchanges at these official-level talks, while concentrating primarily on the border question.

The Indian delegation to the fourth round will be led by the Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs, Mr. K. S. Bajpai, who is well acquainted with all aspects of the border problem having served with distinction as ambassador to China besides Pakistan. He has not only conducted the last round of talks earlier this year, but also participated in the first two rounds in Beijing and Delhi.

Continuity: Apart from providing the necessary continuity in the conduct of these delicate discussions, Mr. Bajpai will be able to bring in a detailed knowledge of all aspects of the border problem if the Chinese side is ready to

engage in exchanges to carry forward the dialogue to the stage of substantive negotiations. Apart from drawing up the necessary briefs for these talks, he is getting together a team of senior officials to assist him during the discussions.

The Indian delegation will include the ambassador to China, Mr. A. P. Venkateswaran, the High Commissioner to Malaysia, Mr. Ranjit Sethi, who as Joint Secretary in charge of the China Division was closely associated with the earlier three rounds, the present Joint Secretary, Mr. P. K. Bhadvar, and other officials drawn from the Ministries of External Affairs, Commerce and Education.

The leader of the Chinese delegation, the Vice-Foreign Minister, Mr. Gong Dafei, who is equivalent in his rank to Mr. Bajpai as a Secretary in the External Affairs Ministry, will have an opportunity to meet the Foreign Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, and possibly also the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, depending on the progress of these discussions. But there is no indication yet whether the Chinese delegation is coming with any new idea on the border question other than the earlier offer to settle the dispute on the basis of the existing *de facto* position.

In-depth discussion: As far as India is concerned, it would be prepared to discuss in-depth any fresh proposals the Chinese might put forward if they are capable of leading to an amicable settlement on the basis of the principles spelt out by both sides on earlier occasions. But in India's view it would be more desirable to tackle this problem sector by sector by starting off with the one where there is least dispute and proceed step by step towards the vast areas under Chinese occupation.

CSO: 4600/1095

## CONCERN NOTED OVER RELATIONS WITH NEPAL

## Incident in Bihar

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 27 Sep 83 pp 1, 7

[Text] Nepal's efforts to convert a clash between dacoits and police, near the border in the Champaran district of Bihar into some sort of a Indo-Nepal 'border incident' has surprised New Delhi.

Protesting at the manner the matter has been twisted, India has said it could have legitimately expressed its own protest but had refrained from doing so out of considerations of friendship and goodwill for the neighbouring country.

An official spokesman said the incident took place in Rampurva village which was very much in Indian territory and came in the jurisdiction of the Valmikinagar police station. There could, perhaps, be a difference of opinion on interpreting the precise alignment of the international boundary in the Sista area, where the village is located, but the Indian police operated strictly in its own area.

There was no question of any Nepalese national having been taken into custody, the spokesman said. If anything, there could be a case of Indian criminals taking shelter in Nepalese territory.

The police authorities of both countries are in touch since 18 September and have agreed to a joint inspection of the scene of the incident, the spokesman added.

According to the Indian vodcast chain of events, a gang of criminals led by a notorious dacoit Munna Khan, operating on the border entered the Madanpur jungle, in West Champaran district on 15 September and started illegal felling of trees. The Bihar Forest Department officials arrested two of the criminals and handed them over to the Valmikinagar police station where a case under 379 and 447 IPC was registered.

The leader of the gang, Munna Khan escaped arrest and retaliated by kidnapping two forest guards. The Valmikinagar police sent a posse in pursuit of the criminals in Rampurva village where the dacoits were hiding.

The police was however outnumbered and was attacked and surrounded by 35 members of the gang equipped with firearms. In the exchange of fire, one home guard and one police constable died on the spot. The body of the officer in-charge of the party, along with the bodies of the two persons killed in the exchange of fire, were found next morning. The fourth body found in the area identified as that of M D Mohamadin, brother-in-law of Munna Khan.

On 16 September, the local police made contact with their counterparts on the Nepalese side and were assured full assistance in the arrest of the criminals. The Bihar police also learnt that Munna Khan, who had been injured in the leg, had surrendered to the Nepalese police and handed over to them one rifle, which reportedly belong to the dead Home Guard.

#### Concern Over 'Tirade'

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 28 Sep 83 pp 1, 7

[Text] India is watching with growing apprehension the emergence of Kathmandu as the centre for activities directed towards the destabilisation of this country.

The hyper-active embassies of the US and China, which are reported to be giving monetary and other support to many local anti-Indian groups, are one facet of this process. Another is the growth of a movement in the ruling political circles, which has the support also of a faction of the royal court, to whip up popular feelings against Indians residents in Nepal and local citizens who are of Indian origin.

While the Government has at the official level taken up with Nepal the harassment of Indians in Kathmandu valley and elsewhere--and has of course also noted the frequency of 'incidents' between the two countries in recent weeks--there has yet been no formal protest to the Nepalese Government on the anti-Indian activities emanating from their capital.

It is however known that certain extremist elements as also others have made trips to Kathmandu and have been in touch with the two embassies and certain people. According to sources, at one stage, some of the underground extremists from the northeastern States were also reported to be going to Kathmandu till anti-insurgency operations brought the situation under control.

The US embassy, in particular, has been extremely active in supporting and pampering anti-Indian elements, sources maintain, pointing out that Americans are directly involved in backing certain people in the student groups in Nepal who are among the most vociferous. China also has been backing particular groups in the university and youth movements and is said to have built up a well-knit cadre of supporters in the campus and outside.

While India is on its guard against any threat to its security, its current worry is that the anti-India movement, which is still of a sporadic nature, may be whipped up into a frenzy of the sort that has overtaken the Tamils in Sri Lanka.

## Generous Finance

Of immediate concern is an organization called Rasthriya Samai Sudhar Sans-thana run by one Mr Manzur World, a former employee of the US embassy in Kathmandu. Mr World, who is said to be very generously financed, is propagating a theory, with some success, that the local economy is being dominated by Indians who are keeping the Nepalese from the national wealth.

Mr World's vitriol is directed not only against the 1.5 million Indians living for many years in the neighbouring country, but also against the 5.8 million Nepalese of Indian origin who live in the terai region of the Himalayan Kingdom. Like the Jaffna Tamils, these people have lived in the region since antiquity and are Nepalese citizens as much as the other racial groups there.

The Government appointed a population commission to carry out ethnic surveys about two years ago. The report has been recently submitted. A copy of the report, which recommends a gradual closing of the border and the introduction of a visa system has been received by India which is studying the document.

But as these 5.8 million people live under the threat of being considered outsiders, the extreme right wing and reactionary elements in the Nepalese are pressing on the Government to take action against Indians. The deportation of five truckloads of petty businessmen from Kathman'lu was a part of this.

One of the main talking points of the right wing reaction is the charge that Nepalese are being harassed or killed in India, specially in the Darjeeling area of north Bengal and in Assam. For instance, the local press played up a story recently that Nepalese had been affected in the eastern States, and that 15,000 had been thrown out of Nepal. India has denied this. In fact, it is pointed out that the total number of Nepalese who died in the Assam violence over the last two years has been 18, and not more than 200 persons have been displaced. There has been no effort, however, by the local press to present the Indian version in the same manner in which they made the allegations.

CSO: 4600/1096

## FURTHER REPORTAGE ON WORLD ENERGY CONFERENCE

## Government Role Discussed

Madras THE HINDU in English 23 Sep 83 p 9

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Sept. 22.

The consensus at a working group discussion on the manufacture of high quality power plants at the 12th World Energy Congress here today was that major advances in reliability achieved by nuclear manufacturers should be extended to conventional plants.

The working group meeting, which was chaired by Mr. P. C. Warner of the U.K., evoked a tremendous response from the delegates and it was felt that the subject should be discussed on a continuing basis in the World Energy Congress.

It was noted that a major part of the investment in energy projects consisted of plant and equipment whose reliability was fundamental to the success of the whole. The question was how the plant supplier viewed this key objective of reliability and how he set out to achieve it.

The panel members opened the proceedings by giving their presentations on overall strategy, standardisation, manufacturing resources and quality assurance. It was soon apparent that the delegates — many of them from developing countries — welcomed the opportunity to express their thoughts direct to a panel of manufacturers of whom five were from industrial countries and one from India.

**Technology transfer:** The underlying theme of many of the points was technology transfer, but it took a number of forms such as whether purchasers should rely on quality assurance systems to ensure the reliability of the plant they had bought.

How could the service experience of faults and conditions for maintenance be conveyed back to the suppliers and how could developing countries benefit from the latest techniques of manufacture, involving microprocessors while pursuing the objective of indigenous production.

Another issue posed was whether the developing countries should go in for the latest advances in unit size, series production and

standardisation.

It was felt that means should be found to spread the reliability standards achieved in the manufacture of nuclear power plants to conventional plants including the so-called low technology plants, which call for very difficult service conditions and would have to be sturdy.

**Competence of personnel:** Another important point made was that advanced machines and quality systems were as good as only the people operating them and that motivation and enthusiasm were critical to efficiency. Some 200 delegates took part in the working group discussion.

A plenary session on resource availability and strategic management of energy and economic resources was held under the chairmanship of Prof. M. G. K. Menon.

It noted that there was apparently a growing emphasis on energy planning in every country based on the realisation that energy developments would not take place in an optimal manner without proper Government policies and intervention. There was a rational concern on the future prospects of energy in the whole world and its likely effects on economic developments and the quality of life.

This concern was not in the nature of panic reactions, but appeared to be related to detailed, pragmatic, financial and economic measures that would bring about a transition from fossil fuels to other sources of energy.

There was a relative neglect of renewable energy sources and technologies in the entire discussion. This was not in keeping with the major problems faced by the developing countries substantially dependent on non-commercial forms of energy.

The problems of developing and ensuring adequate firewood supply to minimise the harmful effects brought about by deforestation, however, did not receive adequate attention at the discussion.

**Coal development:** Other areas of concern which were discussed include the prospects for development of coal.



## Report on Statement

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 24 Sep 83 p 1

[Text] NEW DELHI, September 23 (UNIT & PTI)--THE 12th world energy conference (WEC) today suggested a new global strategy to tackle energy problems and for economic development on a sustained and equitable basis.

The strategy includes energy self reliance, diversification of supply, reduced dependence on oil, conservation and exploitation of renewable energy sources.

The six-day conference, which concluded here today, called for greater international co-operation in the field of energy between the developed and developing countries. "It is urgent that the more fortunate help the less fortunate," it said in a statement.

### Oil Prices

The conference noted that the steep rise in the oil prices had prompted adoption of policies of self-reliance and diversification--because oil is regarded as the culprit in the recent energy crisis, its availability is still suspect and it is the major energy resources that is expected to be exhausted first.

The energy experts invoked the proposals made by the conservation commission of the world energy conference to identify the scope and areas for oil substitution in the various sectors of the economy and suggest appropriate governmental actions to monitor progress and ensure its implementation.

The conference, however, admitted that if the economic growth objectives in developing countries were to be met, it was inevitable that oil use as well as total energy consumption "will have to increase and its substitution should not be seen as an end in itself but as a part of an overall policy of rational use of energy."

While a round table on energy for 2000-2020 saw the primary mechanism in the industrialised countries for reduced oil dependence through expanded use of nuclear energy, a special problems of oil substitution in developing nations.

It was pointed out that it was not possible to generalise about universally appropriate routes to oil substitution and that local circumstances must dictate what was economically and technically feasible.

The routes discussed included domestic gas, coal, hydro and nuclear power as well as biogas, solar and wind power as oil substitutes.

Among the topics touched upon in detail at the conference were innovation (development and application of new knowledge), self-reliance, diversity in national or regional supply, reduced dependence on oil, efficiency and conservation, international co-operation and development assistance, care of the environment, quality of life and urgent measures for enhanced supply of energy.

Developments in nuclear power were reported and the progress on research and development towards controlled nuclear fusion was reported to appropriate working groups. Fusion development was seen as one of the major collaborative international efforts of long-range impact.

New developments in conversion of solar energy to electricity were reported to the groups working on new and renewable sources of energy.

CSO: 4600/1084

## CPI-M LEADER PLEDGES SUPPORT TO UNITED FRONT

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 24 Sep 83 p 1

[Text] PATNA, Sept. 23--The CPI(M) general secretary, Mr E. M. S. Namboodiripad, today pledged his party's support to the five-party United Front and said "we would have working arrangements with it", report UNI and PTI.

The marxist leader who lead a workers rally and addressed a public meeting and a Press conference during the day said that the arrangements would be sorted out soon through talks. This could be both for launching a united struggle on burning issues and fighting the next elections.

Mr Namboodiripad said: "Though we have our own views on many issues, there are common points on which we can work together". The formation of the Front and co-operation to it by the Left parties had upset the Congress (I) and Mrs Gandhi, he added.

Asked whether he thought that the next elections would be held early next year, Mr Namboodiripad said: I don't know".

He admitted that ideological differences with the CPI and his party still existed but the present alliance between the two parties would continue.

Mr Namboodiripad justified shooting down of the South Korean plane by Soviet fighters. He said the fact that the plane remained in the Soviet space for nearly two hours proved that it was a plan of "American imperialists with the help of puppet South Korean Government"

On the Akali agitation he said their political demands were just, but not their religious demand. But the Government had accepted their religious demands and was still pondering over their political demands.

Meanwhile, a report from Hyderabad says the Telugu-Desam will not join either the Janata-led "United Front" or the Bharatiya Janata Party-Lok Dal Alliance. The Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister, Mr N. T. Rama Rao, said today that his party formed a single non-Congress front at the national level.

CSO: 4600/1085

# WEST GERMAN CHANCELLOR TO VISIT INDIA IN NOVEMBER

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 28 Sep 83 p 7

[Article by Ramesh Jaura]

[Text] BONN, Sept 27--Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany would pay a "working visit" to India on 5 and 6 November on his way back from Japan and Indonesia, it is reliably learnt. Mr Kohl would be the first Bonn Chancellor in 16 years to set his foot in New Delhi for talks with the Indian Prime Minister, thus clearing the decks for Mrs Indira Gandhi's official visit to West Germany early next year.

Various reasons lending significance to Chancellor Kohl's forthcoming visit to India are: It marks a definite end to a protracted period of stagnation in Indo-West German relations. Besides, Chancellor Kohl meets Mrs Gandhi who is also the chairperson of the Non-Aligned Movement, at a time when tension in East-West relations has pushed North-South dialogue more or less into the background.

Chancellor Kohl's scheduled visit is the result of intensive diplomatic activity on the part of Indian Ambassador to Bonn, Mr R D Sathe. In less than a year of his stay here, Mr Sathe has been constantly on the alert reviving contacts with the 'Indian lobby.' While the Indian lobby had been more or less ignored in the past years, hardly any attempts had been made to build-up new contacts. The Indian Ambassador availed of the opportunity of a fresh start by the change of government in Bonn on 1 October last.

Others who have had their fingers in the Indo-West German pie are: Vice-Chancellor Hans Dietrich Genscher and Minister of Economic Cooperation Juergen Warnke. Even in the Socialist-Liberal coalition headed by Helmut Schmidt, Mr Genscher had played a key role calling special attention of Bonn, EEC and NATO to the vital importance in international affairs of the Non-Aligned Movement in general and India in particular.

With the change of Government as well, Mr Genscher stuck to his guns. It was a study in the foreign office headed by Mr Genscher that pleaded earlier this year for upgrading relations with India putting these at par with Bonn's ties with China.

Without the impulses provided by Foreign Minister Genscher. Mr Warnke would not have been in a position to emerge as some kind of a champion of Indo-West German relations. Yet if Mr Warnke has earned the reputation of 'India lobbyist number one' in Chancellor Kohl's Cabinet, it is because he has evidenced capability to learn quickly, despite his ideological commitments as a member of the Bavarian CSU of Franz Josef Strauss who himself has made a turnabout in his views on ties with GDR and on East-West relations.

#### Warnke's Efforts

Reports suggest that the way for Chancellor Kohl's visit to India has been paved by Mr Warnke who spent a week in the country earlier this month. Mr Warnke's visit was preceded by that of Minister of State for Defence K P Singh Deo, to West Germany. Even though he visited at the head of an Indian team participating in rowing championship at Duisburg, Mr Singh Deo was the first ever Defence Minister to travel to FRG. Expectedly, he inspected defence factories in Munich-based Messer-Schmidt-Boelkow Blohm (MBB).

Speculations are that if Bonn approaches New Delhi for the purpose, it might agree to play a moderating role in East-West relations especially in view of the frost expected to settle on them in the wake of NATO deciding to deploy new American Pershing II Cruise missiles. This would indeed be an ambitious task, though it would not be for the first time ever that India would take up such a challenge. Prime Minister Nehru had after all played a crucial role in the Korean war to keep up the contacts between China and the U.S. India has also been contributing its share in keeping the tempers cool in West Asia.

The possibility of India serving as a pipeline for continued contacts between West Germany on the one hand and GDR and the Soviet Union on the other is not considered as far-fetched as it might sound. India maintains good relations with Bonn, East Berlin and Moscow.

CSO: 4600/1096



## HINDU ANALYST ON EVENTS IN PAKISTAN

Madras THE HINDU in English 4 Oct 83 p 9

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Oct. 3.

As part of its contingency planning to face the threat of a bigger agitation for an early return to popular Government, the military establishment in Pakistan is reported to be looking around for a more modern-minded and less obscurantist General with an unsoiled reputation to replace the President Gen. Zia-ul-Haq if his position becomes increasingly untenable in the wake of the widespread public revulsion against his repressive rule.

Though there is no immediate threat to Gen. Zia's supremacy despite the mounting opposition to the brutalities of his regime, the search for a more acceptable successor is reported to have begun, to be ready with an alternative choice for the continuance of military rule, before the current Movement for Restoration of Democracy assumes the character of a nation-wide struggle.

**U.S. interest:** The United States, which is the main supporter of the Zia regime, has acquired a vested interest in the prolongation of military rule in Pakistan because of its fear that a return to popular rule might make the country increasingly vulnerable to other political influences leading to a lessening of its dependence on American support. The developing military relationship between the U.S. and Pakistan has made Washington increasingly wary of the hazards of an abrupt lurch back to civilian rule in the present uncertain situation.

So, the U.S. also is reported to be on the lookout for a dependable dark horse from the military establishment who could replace Gen. Zia with the least dislocation should the need arise for such a changeover in the not too distant future. As the more obvious personalities in the military hierarchy have been too closely identified with Gen. Zia's rule, the search is on for a professional soldier of proven competence, capable of commanding the allegiance of the armed forces, besides impressing the general public as a man of moderation.

It is quite evident from the remarks of the U.S. Defence Secretary, Mr. Casper Weinberger, that Washington suspects the hand of both anti-American and pro-Soviet elements behind the current agitation in Pakistan. The logical conclusion that follows from this

hypothesis is that any civilian Government that comes to power riding the wave of this agitation will not be as staunchly pro-American or firmly anti-Soviet as a military regime even with another General at the helm of it.

**Continuity:** So the U.S. will try in the first place to help Gen. Zia to stabilise his position by making some minor concessions. If this is not possible in the present inflamed atmosphere, then the next best thing would be to see a less detestable General installed in his place to ensure the continuity of military rule for the present.

It is said that a great country like the U.S. with its traditions of freedom should allow itself to be caught up in the coils of this cruel dilemma and willy-nilly become an instrument for the prolongation of a military dictatorship in Pakistan ignoring the wishes of its people. The attempt to build up a military-dominated Pakistan into a front-line State, as a sort of bulwark against the extension of Soviet influence, is bound to backfire, defeating the very purpose of it.

Indian leaders who have been openly sympathising with the democratic aspirations of the people of Pakistan have no illusions that a civilian Government in that country would be any closer to India than the present military regime in the present circumstances. Nor do they expect it to seek a modus vivendi with Moscow over Afghanistan by moving away from Washington.

But, from India's point of view, a return to democratic rule might at least act as a damper on the present craze of the military establishment to acquire arms from the U.S. beyond the reasonable requirements of Pakistan. It could also help to halt the current drift in Indo-Pakistani relations and provide the missing perspective for a treaty of friendship to avert the dangers of another conflict.

The latest developments in Pakistan have made it highly embarrassing for India to resume the stalled dialogue for a no-war pact. And, what is worse, the threatening noises that Gen. Zia and his cohorts have lately been making are obliging India to step up its vigilance.

## CONGRESS-I LEADERS REFUTE CPI CHARGES AGAINST GANDHI

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 24 Sep 83 p 10

[Text] Congress-I leaders on Friday refuted the CPI's charge that Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was "pandering" to majority Hindu communalism.

Party general secretary C. M. Stephen and other leaders, including some MPs, said the charge against Mrs Gandhi was a mean fabrication, which showed the extent to which Rajeswara Rao and company could go in pursuit of their perverted politics.

They said that by making the charge Mr Rao as well as his supporters were unconsciously accusing the majority community of communalism.

DSP leader G. C. Bhattacharya, MP, joined the Congress-I leaders in condemning Mr Rao's statement.

The signatories to the joint statement included Punjab Pradesh Congress-I Committee president R. L. Bhatia, Rajasthan Pradesh Congress-I Committee president N. K. Sharma, K. K. Tiwari MP, and Mr K. R. Ganesh, a former Union Minister.

"The Rajeswara Rao majority faction in its blind hatred for Indira Gandhi has stooped so low as to justify the Akali sectarianism and extremism by holding her responsible for the failure in finding a solution to Punjab's problem", the statement said.

The other signatories were Mr Xavier Arakal, MP, Mrs Krishna Sahi, Mr Ibrahim Kalania, Mr N. Makwana, Mr G. L. Dogra, Mr D. P. Singh, Mrs Mehmuda Sultana, and Mr Ganesh Shukla.

They said Mr Rajeswara Rao's politics served the interests of the enemies of the nation. He is guilty of acting as a tool of imperialist intrigues.

In face of imperialist encirclement and the activities of the forces of disintegration within the country, the masses have in recent period heightened their vigilance and resorted to conscious political action to frustrate the designs of destabilisers, the statement said.

Mr Stephen, and other leaders said the defeat of the BJP in Delhi, Jammu and Madhya Pradesh and other places seemed to have unnerved Mr Rajeswara Rao and his supporters and, instead of drawing proper lessons from the changed mood of the broad masses, they have 'demeaned' themselves by their preposterous accusation against Mrs Gandhi.

They said that the CPI general secretary and his majority faction had revealed a mind which was responsible for the CPI to support the Pakistan demand, described Muslims as a nation and worked out a totally untenable theory of nationalities in India.

At every stage of crisis in the national life, they alleged, the 'sectarian elements' in the CPI had driven the CPI away from the national mainstream. Some recent examples given by them in support of their contention being the CPI's attitude towards the Quit India movement, its policy when India attained independence, its political opportunism in ganging up with the RSS in the SVD in 1967 and its role in the presidential elections in 1976 and 1980.

Mr Stephen said the CPI's analysis and decisions were always off the mark and they had to retract.

CSO: 4600/1086

## WRITER DISCUSSES DEVELOPMENTS IN COMMUNIST PARTIES

Madras THE HINDU in English 26, 27 Sep 83

[Article by K. K. Katyal]

[26 Sep 83 p 8]

[Text]

It is not customary for CPI spokesmen to furnish to the press the details of what transpires in the party's closed-door meetings. And if its General Secretary, Mr. C. Rajeswara Rao, the other day volunteered the information that the move against a senior party leader, an advocate of a soft line towards Mrs. Gandhi, was opposed by just two members in the 125-strong National Council, there was a purpose behind it.

The soft-liner, Mr. Yogendra Sharma, a veteran from Bihar, had not been making any secret of his views. As a logical corollary, he did not want the party to ally with other opposition elements for a joint campaign against Mrs. Gandhi's Government. Because of Mr. Sharma's stature and related bits of information there was widespread speculation over an impending split in the CPI. Mr. Rao was keen to dispel this impression and cited the overwhelming majority in favour of Mr. Sharma's removal from various positions in the party.

**Letter episode**

Mr. Rajeswara Rao succeeded in making his point, but he was less than convincing in his denial that Mr. Sharma's action in carrying a letter from Mrs. Gandhi to the Soviet leader, Mr. Andropov, figured in the Council's discussions and that it was specifically disapproved. Not all will be impressed by Mr. Rao's assertion that in his reckoning the Soviet Communist Party was not in the picture in matters connected with the CPI's attitude towards Mrs. Gandhi or her Government.

There was sufficient evidence to suggest that the letter episode did figure in the National Council's deliberations but whether it led to a full-fledged debate on the nature and desirability of the CPSU's advice (to support Mrs. Gandhi) was not clear. Mr. Sharma, however, was not apologetic about his conduct in general and his role as a car-

rier in particular. As he explained later there was nothing clandestine about his action, as he had informed the person in charge of the foreign desk in the Party Secretariat and even given him a copy of the communication.

The contents of Mrs. Gandhi's letter were not unrelated to Mr. Sharma's role even though the points made by her concerned the approach of the Indian Left. The letter sent by Mrs. Gandhi in her capacity as Congress (I) President to Mr. Andropov as the CPSU General Secretary analysed the current political situation in India. While the right and reactionary forces in the country, Mrs. Gandhi was believed to have said, were causing destabilisation, the Indian Left instead of countering them, chose to strengthen those elements. This was no original formulation, for Mrs. Gandhi had made this point in her talks with Brezhnev during her last official visit to Moscow. But she chose to repeat it in the belief that Brezhnev's successor may be more receptive.

**Sizable following**

The two-vote opposition to the action against Mr. Sharma in the National Council, it was clear, was not a true index of the sentiments symbolised by him. Though in a minority, the advocates of a soft line towards Mrs. Gandhi — or "of unity and struggle" in relation to the Congress (I) to quote Mr. Sharma — have a sizable following.

A more reliable indicator of their strength was the line-up in an earlier meeting of the National Council when the move for the censure of the party ideologue, Mr. Mohit Sen, another votary of the soft line, was opposed by over 15 members. Obviously, all those falling in this category were not prepared to stand up and be

counted last week, because of the unusually stern nature of the action proposed against Mr. Sharma.

#### Threat works

When a veteran of several decades' standing could be ousted from the Council, relieved from the leadership of the party group in the Rajya Sabha as also from the posts of editor of the party's journals, others, it was realised, could meet a worse fate. The action against Mr. Sharma was intended to have a deterrent effect and it worked. Otherwise, as of now, the pro-Mrs. Gandhi elements could claim a hold in Bihar, the home State of Mr. Sharma and in sections of the party in Punjab, Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra.

It may not add up to much, but acquires significance when viewed in the context of the ouster of Mr. S. A. Dange, former Chairman, and his followers from the party a few years ago because of their persistence in getting the anti-Mrs. Gandhi line diluted. Although Mr. Dange left the party, Dangeism continues to have a foothold.

There is however no confusion, no ambiguity about the official line of the CPI nor about the extent of support to it in the party. The CPI is now committed to an anti-Mrs. Gandhi line, more closely than ever in the past and of course in sharp contrast to its supportive role during the Emergency. It is committed, equally firmly, to the United Front of the Janata Party and four others, which lately appeared on the political scene with a left-of-the-centre image. The CPI, however, will not join the Front but back it from outside.

#### Broad cooperation

Mr. Sharma's charge that at one stage participation was contemplated was hotly denied by Mr. Rajeswara Rao. According to Mr. Inder Gujral, former Minister for Information and Broadcasting and a former Ambassador to the Soviet Union who had been in touch with the CPI on behalf of the Front, "it was always our understanding to have the broad cooperation of the CPI on a programme basis." Mr. Sharma's allegation, levelled in the midst of an intra-party wrangle, therefore does not stand in the absence of supporting evidence.

As defined by the National Council, the CPI's approach towards the United Front will be "positive." "The National Council has welcomed this development. The party will not join the Front but would want it to adopt firm anti-imperialist, secular and democratic positions so as to help promote the unity of the left and democratic forces", said a party release.

In its comments on the Front's draft programme, the CPI called for a more forthright stand on foreign policy (stronger

support to the USSR, etc.), secular approach, anti-monopoly measures and land reforms. The Front may not oblige the CPI for, despite its left-of-the-centre stance, it does not claim to be Left as the two communist parties are. This may not affect the CPI's broad support to the Front from outside, the other combine, the National Democratic Alliance of the BJP and the Lok Dal, having already been branded as "pro-imperialist and communalist."

Will the Soviet Union, on its own or because of the points made by Mrs. Gandhi in the letter to Mr. Andropov, push to its logical conclusion its views on the CPI's role in relation to the Congress (?) Government? Opinions differ. That the CPSU would like the CPI to back Mrs. Gandhi because of the need to strengthen her in her anti-imperialist role, both as the country's Prime Minister and as chairperson of the non-aligned movement, is clear. That the majority of the CPI has not taken kindly to this advice is not in doubt either.

There is no authoritative indication of how far Moscow would go in its persistence with its views and hence the various and differing conjectures. Perhaps the CPSU would not go any farther.

Three reasons are adduced to support this view. One, the Soviet Union could not be unaware of the predicament of the CPI and its fear of increased isolation in the non-Congress (?) camp, should it decide to line up with Mrs. Gandhi.

Two, the communist movement in India is represented not only by the CPI, but also by the CPI (M), electorally a bigger success which could not be weaned away from the anti-Mrs. Gandhi line. The two communist parties are partners in the ruling coalition in West Bengal (and the Left Front in Kerala) and the compulsions of this arrangement come in the way of the CPI getting closer to Mrs. Gandhi.

Three, the Congress (?) is not the only non-Left party to profess friendship with and support of the Soviet Union and other parties too are appreciative of Moscow's role in world affairs. All this and their view of the Indian political scenario after Mrs. Gandhi, would perhaps restrain CPSU leaders from pushing their line too hard.

#### New phenomenon

It may be tempting to assume that the CPI's attitude represents a new phenomenon, a sort of Indo-communism and that as such it has even a greater significance than the stand of Eurocommunists with vast resources and powerful party machines at their command. One would need some more evidence and some more time to reach any conclusion. Till then the judgment on this subject needs to be reserved.



[Text]

**W**HEN the CPI demonstrated the support of the majority of the party to the anti-Mrs. Gandhi line there was an improvement in its working relations with the CPI (M), subjected to severe strains of late. Whether by coincidence or otherwise, senior leaders of the two parties who met soon after the CPI National Council session had no difficulty in agreeing upon a coordinated strategy.

This was important, for the bitter polemics exchanged by them in the last four months or so had tended to undo the gain of coordination of the preceding four years. The two parties found themselves in agreement on the three issues, taken up by their leaders — dangers posed by new tensions in the international sphere, national developments and the Opposition conclave to be held in Srinagar next month. There was no difference on the responsibility of the US for aggravating tensions and on the need of the two parties conducting a sustained, nation-wide campaign for peace. The consensus on national issues too was not a problem in the wake of their earlier decisions to support the United Front of the Janata party and other groups, and all that flowed from it. On Centre-State relations, which will be the subject of the Srinagar conclave, there was no divergence in substantive positions.

#### Support to U.F.

In the national field, both the parties while welcoming the United Front were equally strong in their indictment of the other combine, the National Democratic Alliance of the Lok Dal and the BJP. According to the CPI (M), the NDA represented "an effort to bring about the maximum Opposition unity to isolate the left forces which are the consistent fighters against authoritarianism." In the CPI's opinion, the NDA is "a reactionary front with pro-imperialist and communal BJP as its driving force." This was significant because of the identity of views on the BJP. The CPI could have the satisfaction that its characterisation of the BJP had been accepted by the CPI (M) now.

At the joint meeting of the leaders of the two communist parties, nobody raised the issues, arising from the visit of the CPI (M) delegation to China. This issue has recently triggered acrimonious controversies, revealing the deep-seated differences in their perceptions of China and the Chinese communist party. The journals of the two parties had carried extensive expositions of their respective positions and, in the process, attacked each other with a severity that had not been noticed for some years.

The CPI General Secretary, Mr. Rajeswara Rao, told a press conference that,

following the explanation given by the CPI (M), the China visit and related matters would not be raised. The CPI (M) denied having given any "explanation" and seemed to suggest that a section of the CPI itself had questioned the wisdom of their party opening another front. For a while, the Front had been ominously live. It all began after the visit of a CPI (M) delegation comprising Mr. E. M. S. Nambudripad, Mr. Basavapurniah and Mr. Harkishen Singh Surjeet to China and their resolve to establish party-to-party relationship with the CPC. The CPI did not relish it nor the joint statement issued at the end of the delegation's talks in Beijing that "both sides are determined to work for friendship between the two countries and the two peoples of India and China."

One cannot do better than to quote the sharp comments by the CPI and the CPI (M) in their party journals. Mr. Indradeep Sinha, Member, CPI Central Secretariat and Editor of the party journal, *New Age*, reminded the delegation members that sometime ago the CPC had publicly denounced the CPI (M) leaders as "renegades and revisionists" and lackeys of the big Indian landlords and the bourgeoisie. Apart from giving these quotations from the *People's Daily* of July 5, 1967, Mr. Sinha spoke of the "key role" of the CPC "first in instigating a split in the CPI which resulted in the formation of the CPI (M) and then in instigating a split in the CPI (M) which resulted in the formation of the CPI (ML)."

#### Shop-soiled story

Sharply reacting to "slanders and distortions", Mr. Surjeet took exception to Mr. Sinha's repetition of the "shop-soiled story" that the CPC leadership played a key role in instigating a split in the Communist Party of India and asked: "Does he think he can hoodwink anybody by such an assertion which has no legs to stand on?"

Mr. Surjeet cited the position taken by the 11th party Congress and said: "On the question of establishing fraternal relations with other contingents of the communist movement, we are not going to be guided by the CPI. Our party has adopted a proletarian internationalist line towards all the communist parties in the world, despite our serious political-ideological differences with one or other of these parties. Accordingly, it is intent upon treating all the communist parties of different countries as fraternal communist parties and is willing to establish formal fraternal relations with every one of them if they so desire."

In keeping with this line, according to Mr. Surjeet, the CPI (M) had always regarded the USSR and China as mighty socialist countries and the CPSU and CPC as communist parties. Administering a snub to the CPI (M) critics in the CPI, he said

"We are not going to learn marxist-leninism from the CPI which lacks any deep understanding and has been distorting realities, whether it is the question of ideological debate in the international communist movement or the question of understanding of the national situation."

#### Pet slander

He wondered why the CPI was worried over the CPI (M)'s relations with the CPC at a time when the USSR and other socialist countries sought to improve relations with China. It was not proper for the CPI leaders "to harp on their pet slander that the split in the united CPI took place at the instance of the CPC." He took strong exception to this falsification of history in relation to the split in the Indian communist movement, which was precipitated by the "class-collaborationist line" of the CPI.

The "class-collaborationist" charge does not apply to the CPI now and none in the CPI (M) would expect it after the Yogendra Sharma episode. The Moscow factor too would not divide the two parties in the way it used to in the past. Those who had been to the Soviet Union in the last 10 weeks, for instance, included CPI leaders — Mr. Sharma and two others subscribing to his viewpoint, as also Mr. Rajasekhar Reddy, an associate of Mr. Rao — and leading lights of the CPI (M), like the West Bengal Chief Minister, Mr. Jyoti Basu.

#### Rigid positions

But not quite: though the leaders of the CPI(M) during their recent visits to the USSR received the same courtesies and attention as their counterparts of the CPI, the latter could continue to be the main communist party in the eyes of Moscow. And this position is unlikely to change despite the CPI majority committing itself to an anti-Mrs. Gandhi line. Meanwhile the group which, as already pointed out, is stronger than suggested by the two-vote support for Mr. Yogendra Sharma (and impliedly for his

plea for softness towards Mrs. Gandhi) would continue to press its viewpoint. Among other things this would mean continuous sniping at the CPI(M), which was held responsible for influencing the CPI's judgment. And last but not the least, though the polemics on the China issue has stopped, the two parties continue to adhere rigidly to their positions. The potential for strains in their relationship could not be wished away by either of them.

At the moment, however, the two parties have once again repaired the damage to their mutual ties and with a pronounced identity on the international situation and the national scene (including their characterisation of the ruling party). Apart from their planned campaign for peace, they would be equally active in their opposition to Mrs. Gandhi.

#### Recent documents

Going by the recent documents of the parties, made available after the meetings of their important deliberative bodies this month, the CPI is more severe in its attack on Mrs. Gandhi than the CPI(M). The CPI(M) communique on its central committee's discussions, took exception to the Congress (I)'s role in joining hands with "all the communal and casteist forces". The ruling party, it said, was forced into a situation which it had to give "more and more concessions to communal and casteist forces just to be able to stay in office."

The CPI was more forthright in expressing its concern that Mrs. Gandhi was pandering to "a certain communal sentiment in the majority community and that it has become a part of her electoral strategy to win the next Lok Sabha elections. Such an approach can only bring grist to the mill of aggressive communalism and harm the cause of secularism."

Whether it represents the zeal of a new convert or a strong conviction, the vehemence of the CPI's attack will not go unnoticed.

PAPER REPORTS GANDHI ATHENS PRESS CONFERENCE

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 24 Sep 83 pp 1, 7

[Text] ATHENS, Sept 23 (PTI)--Prime Minister Indira Gandhi said here today that India was against nuclear weapons and it will not produce any such arsenal even if Pakistan did so.

Addressing a crowded press conference, Mrs Gandhi said "we want the whole world to be free (of nuclear weapon) and the whole world to be a zone of peace."

Asked what India proposed to do if Pakistan embarks on nuclear programme, Mrs Gandhi said information in foreign press was that it was trying to acquire that. "But our view remain the same," she said.

Asked why India had conducted the nuclear explosion in Pokhran in 1970 if the country was not keen on going nuclear, Mrs. Gandhi said the International Atomic Energy Commission permitted such experiments for peaceful purposes. India she said was committed to use nuclear for peaceful purposes such as irrigation, agriculture and medical purposes.

"We are against nuclear weapons both for idealistic and practical reasons" she said. India did not have any nuclear weapons, she added.

Replying to a question on presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan, Mrs Gandhi said India was against presence of all foreign troops anywhere in the world.

Replying to a question on Lebanon, Mrs Gandhi said she wanted all foreign troops to be withdrawn from there. "We support the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Lebanon".

As far as Palestinians in Lebanon were concerned, she said one should not forget that they had been driven out from their own homeland.

As far the Indian Ocean Mrs. Gandhi said: "We don't like any military troops or base in the Indian Ocean."

Earlier during her talks with Greek President Constantine Karamanlis in the afternoon Mrs. Ganshi had expressed similar views.

Outlining India's relations with its neighbours, Mrs Gandhi said India wanted normal relations with goodwill and trust with both Pakistan and China

Referring to the situation in Sri Lanka, Mrs Gandhi said India was not for secession in that island. At the same time, India man of the EEC.

The talks culminated after the signing of an agreement on economic, scientific and technical cooperation between the two countries. Subsequently, Mrs Gandhi accompanied by the Greece Premier, walked across the street to call on the Greek President.

During the call, Mrs Gandhi outlined India's relations with Pakistan and China giving brief historic accounts of the region.

Mrs Gandhi pointed out that after the partition while the forces which opposed the British formed Government in India, the forces which supported them came to power in Pakistan. In spite of the basic differences Indian leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru, Lal Bahadur Shastri or herself did not allow those differences to come in the way of good understanding between the two neighbours.

She said India not only wanted no war with Pakistan but it wanted peace and friendship. Regarding China, she said despite their aggression against India it did not want the prospect of people coming from there as refugees.

She hoped that the Sri Lankan Government would show necessary statesmanship and accommodation to resolve the ethnic problem.

Earlier Mrs Gandhi held a second round of talks lasting about two hours with her Greece counterpart. During the talks the Greece Premier assured that his country would increase its purchases of public sector products from India.

He said the goodwill generated by Mrs Gandhi's visit should be constructively followed up.

While the first round of talks was confined to the two leaders yesterday, delegations of both countries joined in the dialogue today.

During the talks Mr Papandreou allayed fears expressed by Indian delegation that some European Economic Community members might come in the way of Greece importing certain quota goods from India.

Greece is currently the chair- 1962, India had sponsored its membership in the UN.

Earlier in the day Mrs Gandhi called for "close co-operation" between India and Greece in conserving their rich natural heritage from pilferage.

Both India and Greece were abundantly endowed with cultural and artistic riches and "we have to guard our treasures so that they are not spirited away to mansions and museums abroad"

Mrs Gandhi was speaking at the Town Hall after she was presented with the "Gold medal of honour of the city of Athens" by Mayor Dimitrios Beis.

Conferring the honour Mr Beis said "our honour befits the ambassador of peace and chairperson of the nonaligned movement.

"The Greek people whose present government has adopted a nonaligned and independent national policy, stand by the nonaligned movement".

Expressing her gratitude to the people of the city for the honour, Mrs Gandhi said the city had been acclaimed as the cradle of Western civilisation.

It had produced giants of the intellect and men of genius.

CSO: 4600/1086



## PATIL ADDRESSES NATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE OPENING

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 25 Sep 83 p 1

[Text]

The recommendations of the National Labour Conference to improve the industrial climate in the country will get legislative shape shortly, Union Labour Minister Veerendra Patil told the State Labour Ministers on Saturday in New Delhi.

The National Labour Conference had made far-reaching recommendations with the aim to create a positive and healthy industrial relations culture and to ensure continuous flow of goods and services he added.

Mr Patil specially mentioned the issue of workers' participation in the management as an essential element in the good industrial relations policy and advised the State Governments to introduce it in the State public undertakings increasingly.

The Union Labour Minister, however, expressed serious concern over the growing industrial sickness and proposed to introduce a package of measure to curb this trend and revive sick units in various parts of the country.

The measures he enlisted for it included special revival fund, soft loan facilities, advances to workers for equity participation, managerial assistance and setting up of workers' cooperatives.

Pointing out that the number of sick units had gone up from 378 in December 1979 to 422 in December 1981, Mr Patil said sickness in industry not only affected production of services and goods but also raised problems of large scale unemployment of skilled and semi-skilled workers.

A recent survey by the Reserve Bank of India had revealed that sickness in the large industries

was mainly due to factors other than labour, he said.

He urged the State Governments to explore the possibilities of reviving such sick units through workers' cooperatives and monetary and other input support required for the purpose.

Touching upon some of the important aspects of labour policy concerning industrial relations, he said though the industrial situation in the country was showing encouraging signs, the government could not afford to be complacent.

The situation called for a variety of institutional and other arrangements to ensure that industrial peace was not disturbed by the 'misguided action' of any person or group of individuals, he said.

The Minister called for the implementation of two voluntary schemes of workers participation in management, especially by public sector undertakings, which were expected to give a lead in this direction.

Mr Patil said, the Government was processing the recommendations made by the National Labour Conference last year, order to create a more positive and healthy industrial harmony and ensure continuous flow of goods and services.

In the meantime, we have to remain alert to see that the existing administrative arrangements for maintenance of industrial peace are not weakened and take necessary measures to improve them', he said.

The agenda before the conference include general appraisal of industrial relations working of labour and industrial courts and industrial tribunals formation of a separate cadre for judges of labour courts and tribunals, strengthening of machinery at the State level to monitor industrial rela-

tions implementation of the Palekar award for working and non-working journalists organisation of rural and agricultural labour.

The conference will also review working of various labour laws conditions of employment for children and women and rehabilitation of bonded labour.

The Karnataka Government is considering a proposal to introduce a separate Act to provide for subsistence allowance for workers not covered by the standing orders act, said State Labour Minister Raghupathy.

The State Government also planned to introduce a statute for agricultural workers on line with that prevailing in Kerala. It also proposed to have a welfare fund for agricultural labourers under the statute, he said. Mr Raghupathy was addressing the Labour Ministers' conference.

The Maharashtra Government suggested extending the recommendations of the Deshpande Committee in respect of house rent allowance to textile workers.

The suggestion came from Minister of State M G Kimatkar while participating in the conference.

Referring to the revision of minimum wages in his State, Mr Kimatkar said it had always been 'timely'.

Gujarat Labour Minister Sanat Mehta urged the Centre to increase the State's quota for instructors for craftsmen training schemes at the Central training institutes and raise the allocation for labour employment and training.

Speaking at the conference Mr Mehta said schemes should be worked out on the basis of ploughing back into sick textile mills a part of the revenue from excise duties and provident and gratuity funds.

He suggested that looms of the sick textile mills be handed over to the workers and that processing remain with the employers. The assistance from financial institutions could be shared between the managements and the workers to whom the looms are allocated, he said.

The Kerala Labour Minister Mr K S Sivadasan suggested deterrent punishment to offenders of the Minimum Wages Act.

## INDIAN MISSION GUARD ASSAULTED IN COLOMBO

Madras THE HINDU in English 28 Sep 83 p 9

[Text] COLOMBO, Sept. 27--A security guard going for duty at the Indian High Commissioners' residence in Sri Lanka was waylaid by unknown assailants here on Sunday evening. Mr. A. K. Suin, who was assaulted, ran to the safety of India House, a short distance away. Dishevelled, visibly shaken and writhing in obvious pain, he was rushed to the hospital for first aid.

In what appeared to be a pre-mediated move, four men waited for Mr. Suin, two on bicycles and the others under a tree, near the High Commissioner's home. Growing suspicious, the Indian employee tried to dodge but was overpowered by the dagger-wielding men.

"I have taken up the matter with the Sri Lankan Foreign office," said Mr. S. J. S. Chhatwal, the High Commissioner, without comment.

This is the third case of assault involving officials of the High Commission in the past five weeks, long after the July-August ethnic violence in Sri Lanka. The other incidents involved a drive of the mission, Mr. R. Viswambharan and an official, Mr. P. K. Ravindran.

Mr. Viswambharan, waiting at a crowded bus stop in the morning on his way to the High Commission, was badly beaten up by a group of thugs. He sustained lathi blows on his back.

Mr. Ravindran was forcibly pinned to his scooter seat at the porch of his own residence by the Sri Lanka police, who reportedly threatened, "you move, we shoot." He remained in that posture for several hours, though he revealed his identity and asked to contact the mission.

CSO: 4600/1095

CULTURAL, SCIENTIFIC, TECHNICAL ACCORD SIGNED WITH PRC

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 15 Sep 83 p 23

[Text] Dr. 'Ali Akbar Velayati, our country's foreign minister, who as the head of a high ranking political, economic and cultural delegation is busy touring the People's Republic of China, after having talks and discussions with the Chinese foreign affairs minister and the minister of foreign economic relations and trade, met yesterday, separately, with the president and the premier of China.

Furthermore, in a meeting, yesterday, between Dr Velayati and the foreign minister of China, a cultural, scientific and technical agreement, between the two countries, was signed.

The following is a detailed report of the meetings that our foreign minister had yesterday.

Meeting with the president of China:

Dr Ali Akbar Velayati met yesterday afternoon with Li Xiannian, president of the People's Republic of China.

In this meeting, the president of China, while welcoming Dr Velayti, inquired about the Imam's well being and asked our foreign minister to convey his salutations to Imam Khomeyni.

He further requested that his salutations be conveyed to our president, speaker of the Majlis and the prime minister.

The president of China, while expressing content with the fall of the corrupt and degraded Pahlavi regime and by referring to the strategic importance of Iran, said that with due consideration of your independent policy and the slogan of neither East nor West, we are on the same front. Furthermore, while praising the independent and nonaligned policy of Iran and condemning the policy of aggression, said that should the Government of China move towards aggression, the countries of the world should oppose such a policy [as published].

Furthermore, by referring to the cooperation between Third World countries, he said that no obstacles lay in the expansion of relations between Iran and China and the two countries can enjoy excellent relations.

The president of China cited Dr Velayati's visit as a token of enforcing and strengthening relations between the two countries.

Reciprocally our country's foreign minister, while expressing his gratitude for the hospitality shown by the government and the people of China said that our nation is a resistant nation. We will never be subjected to servitude and we have constantly opposed the dominance of foreigners and will continue to do so.

He added that we seek the expansion and enforcement of relations with all countries, especially Third World countries, on a basis of mutual respect, and in this regard, we attach great importance to our relations with China.

Dr Velayati expressed hope that the Third World countries, through mutual co-operations oppose the aggression of the super powers.

Dr Velayati's meeting with the premier of China:

Dr 'Ali Akbar Velayati, our country's foreign minister, met yesterday afternoon with Zhao Ziyang, the premier of the People's Republic of China.

During this meeting Zhao Ziyang, by referring to the independent policy of Iran and praising the struggle of our country's people against the superpowers, said that the Islamic Republic of Iran by following such a policy can impede the rivalry of the two superpowers in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf and thus play a significant role in this respect.

He added that we are sure that through the mutual cooperation of the two sides, the relations of the two countries can reach the highest level, because there are still many potential possibilities in different cultural, economic, commercial and technical aspects.

Dr Velayati, while expressing his happiness regarding the expanding relations between Iran and the People's Republic of China said that our country has cut off the hands of America, as a superpower, who was in our country for a quarter of a century, without replacing it with another superpower. While reinstating the discontinuation of Iranian oil exports to Israel and South Africa after the victory of the Islamic revolution, he said that we believe that the people and crusaders of Palestine must be helped so that they can gain their independence.

Furthermore, our country's foreign minister, promulgated the support of the Islamic Republic of Iran for the struggles of the people of Namibia, El Salvador, Nicaragua and other suppressed nations of South America.

Signing of a cultural, scientific and technical agreement between Iran and China:



Dr 'Ali Akbar Velayati, the foreign minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and Wu Xueqian, the foreign affairs minister of the People's Republic of China, yesterday afternoon, signed a cultural, scientific and technical agreement between the two countries.

In accordance with this request, which will be executed upon the approval of the respective legislative sources of each country, exchange of students, books, cooperation in mutual research fields, as well as, cooperation between IRNA and XINHUA NEWS AGENCY and the radio and television of the two countries has been envisaged.

Furthermore, it was decided to strengthen Persian-language courses in China and Chinese-language and literature be taught and developed in Iran.

The officials of the two countries agreed to arrange for exhibits on art, history and culture so that the two countries could get familiar with each other. It was decided to do this on the anniversary of each country's revolution. The cultural deputy of the foreign ministry said that on the anniversary of the Islamic revolution, an exhibit for introducing the art, history and culture of the Islamic revolution will be held in China.

12382

CSO: 4640/363

# GOODS EXCHANGED WITH BULGARIA

Tehran BURS in Persian 13 Sep 83 p 8

[Article: "400 Million Dollars Worth of Goods Exchanged Between Iran and Bulgaria Last Year"]

[Text] On the second day of the Ninth Tehran International Exhibition, a ceremony for the national day of Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia was held in the presence of Iran's minister of industry and Bulgaria's minister of light industries, ambassadors and guests. In these ceremonies, Serbezov, the minister of light industries of Bulgaria, spoke first and said: "Economic relations between Iran and Bulgaria have definitely improved after the victory of the revolution." He added: "Economic cooperation between Iran and Bulgaria has created new ways of cooperation in agriculture, industry, power, transportation and trade between the two nations." Then he added: "Bulgaria provides meat, eggs, cheese, electrical machinery, electronic equipment, chemicals, medicine, fertilizers, glass, and paper needed by Iran and in exchange imports oil from Iran. In addition, this country is an interesting market for Iran's present industrial products such as textiles, shoes, and clothes."

Then the minister of industry of our nation in a speech said: "Organizing such an exhibition could create understanding between the nations." He added: "To arrange such an exhibition is a proper opportunity to distinguish those nation's who are willing to cooperate with Iran."

The minister of industry at the conclusion of his speech added: "In the past our economic relations with different nations were based on political policies which were determined by certain countries. However, today we are willing to act according to the interests of the Islamic Republic. I must mention that the value of goods exchanged between Iran and Bulgaria in 1982 was over 400 million dollars."

In the ceremonies for Czechoslovakia national day, the ambassador of Czechoslovakia, in his speech said: "Economic and trade cooperation between Iran and Czechoslovakia has an important impact." He added: "Czechoslovakia could have positive answers to the import demands of Iran such as machinery, industrial materials and goods, wood, chemical goods, glass and many consumer goods." Then he continued: "At present, Czechoslovakia is participating in a series of industrial projects in Iran." He also said: "Czechoslovakia has

announced its willingness to participate in all phases of the five-year economic, educational and social projects of Iran."

The deputy director of foreign trade of the ministry of trade expressed his pleasure at the participation of Czechoslovakia in the Tehran International Exhibition and said: "Czechoslovakia's participation has caused the recognition of potential possibilities for both countries and helped the mutual expansion of relations and cooperation for both sides." Then he said: "The Ninth Tehran International Exhibition and the Eighth Innovation and Invention Exhibition opens at a time when the Islamic Republic of Iran has achieved the stability and steadfastness in all areas, among them, the economy."

9815

CSO: 4640/361

# ACTIVITIES OF PRO-KHOMAYNI GROUP IN MANILA REPORTED

Manila PHILIPPINES DAILY EXPRESS in English 6 Oct 83 pp 1, 3

[Text] THE PROPAGANDA materials of an Iranian militant group, calling itself the Iranian Muslim Students of the Philippines, are being printed at the Iranian embassy in Makati, a former embassy official said yesterday.

Khosrow Menuchehr, Iran's former labor attache and now a United Nations refugee living in the Philippines, appeared at the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports and confirmed the presence of a pro-Khomeini hit squad against anti-Khomeini Iranians.

He said the group has plans to launch sabotage attacks against the Philippine government, as revealed earlier in an ISMP manifesto now in the hands of the MECS.

The manifesto, signed by the ISMP, had as mailing address P.O. Box AC 226, Quezon City, listed under Ahmad Atrkar Roushand, a former student of the University of Manila and believed to be working now at the embassy.

Menuchehr turned over to Luis Manaois, chief of research and documentation of the Bureau of Foreign Students and Foreign Schools, other manifestos and copies of the ISMP's weekly journal, Paya E Vahdat, which, he said, were being printed at the embassy.

But the publications do not appear in the embassy's records, he said.

AN ENGLISH translation of a Paya E Vahdat editorial was on the assassination of ex-Sen Benigno S. Aquino Jr. and the Philippine government. Menuchehr said the ISMP has been feeding to newspapers in Iran wrong information regarding the present Philippine administration.

Menuchehr submitted to Manaois photographs of Iranian students who had participated in rallies and identified six Iranians, in addition to the 13 tagged by intelligence reports, as members of the hit squad.

He said "hardcore" pro Khomeini students number from 10 to 20, but are able to compel other Iranian students to join their activities because, he said, "they have the support of the embassy."

PAPER ATTACKS WORLD MEDIA FOR 'EFFORTS TO DISCREDIT' REGIME

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 9 Oct 83 pp 1, 4

[Article: "How Good Is the Media Propaganda Against Iran?"]

[Text] POLITICAL commentator of the TEHRAN TIMES takes up the issue of the vicious international media propaganda efforts to discredit the Islamic Republic of Iran when all other conspiracies, aggressions and attempts to weaken the morale of this nation appear to have failed. Perceptive readers will see that these efforts are sporadic and often well-timed to coincide with events on the political scene, aimed at subverting the Islamic Republic when it is on its way to making higher endeavours in advancing the course of Islam and the Islamic Revolution in the world.

In the Name of God the Beneficent the Merciful.

Along with open and clandestine conspiracies against the Islamic Republic of Iran anti-Islamic groups have tried to push Syria away from its path of truth through a meeting in which the foreign minister of the Ba'athist regime met with his Syrian counterpart.

The plot of this meeting was hatched by Saudi and Kuwaiti regime in New York on Oct. 5.

Contrary to the belief of Islamic Iran, efforts were made during the plotted meeting to drag Syria on to the line of narrow nationalism in the name of Arabs...the Arabs who were attacked by the Ba'athist regime in Baghdad when they were living in Iran.

The imperialist media are, on their part, grossly immersed in the formentation of propaganda attacks on the Islamic Republic of Iran.

On October 5, last Wednesday, AFP reported from Brighton that the British Labor Party Executive Committee Member, Eric Heffer at the Party's annual conference referred to the Iranian government as a "regime at war with humanity" and "worse than the Shah's regime". The Labor Party leader then voted for the party to renew its support for the "opposition groups such as the dissolved



Democratic Party of Iranian Kurdistan and Iranian refugees' etc. against the Islamic Republic.

The reply to this kind of offence against Iran can be found in the answer to yet other questions that would no doubt totally throw the likes of Mr. Heffer, completely off balances.

This is it: If the Iranian regime is as bad as these people claim, then it must be quite an unpopular government. Who on earth have been those who have so far defended the Islamic leaders and the revolution during the last three years against the most powerful regime in the region? It is not true that the Iraqi Ba'athists have been and are supported by all the world powers and their regional puppet governments? Is there now anybody to be found in any of the four corners of the earth who does not know about the friendly relations between the Iraqi regime and the U.S., or the fact that it is Russia and France which are equipping the regime in Baghdad with all sorts of arms against Iran? Is there anybody who may not have yet learned of the huge financial support funneled to Iraq by Saudi Arabia Kuwait, Persian Gulf countries and recently Britain? Is there really any one who may still have not noticed the all-out support rendered by Zionist, imperialist, Socialist and Communist media to the Saddam's regime?

Is there any sense in saying that the Islamic combatants who have achieved great victories and unprecedented victories in the battlefields are the same dissatisfied people who have fallen victim to persecution of all kinds, torture, mass executions, and suppressions imposed on the country by a group of dictators?

If it is so and the Iranian leaders have been able to mobilize their people in spite of all such oppressive policies in such a way as to create the most stirring epics of our time in the war fronts against a foreign force, we then advise the regimes ruling over the US, Russia, France, Germany, Britain, Israel, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Lebanon, Chile Philippines, El Salvadore etc., to adopt the Iranian government's policy so that they too will be able to benefit from massive mobilization and support of their people if any war be imposed on the country, instead of facing all these demonstrations on joblessness, anti-nuclear rallies, race discriminations, inflation, hunger, prostitution, etc., which are challenging those regimes. We advise these governments to follow at the heels of the Iranian regime so that they too can enjoy vast popular assistance at a time should an economic embargo be imposed on the country.

We advise those regimes to seriously try to discover the reason why the Iranian regime which, as alleged by them, has subjected the Iranian nation to all kinds of pressure, still enjoys the people's full co-operation in uprooting anti-government groups launching armed rebellion against it and in solving the problems of the war-affected people.

It is really surprising that the Iranian masses so peacefully join in any religious gathering, in the face of all the suffocation and oppressive policies

of their government as claimed by some to have been imposed by Iranian leaders on the country.

However, the fact that can be deduced from all these mischievous accusations raised against Iran by the British Labour Party, UN's General Assembly and other circles which all share a piece of the 'cake' one way or another is the grave fear of these demagogue organizations that the present order of the world will be disturbed as a result of the challenges against an exploitative order by the world Moslems and the Iranian Moslems in particular.

Evidence of this is the statement issued in condemnation of Iran by the Labour Party's conference, which has blamed Iran for its role in the Persian Gulf war which has threatened to spark off a confrontation between the superpowers."

Meanwhile, a dispatch of Associated Press from Beirut on October 6, aired an ambiguous report of an assassination, in which it quoted the Sidon Police to say that 'an Israeli-backed militia commander in Southern Lebanon was assassinated Thursday. The victim was identified as Hussein Wehbe, a Shi'ite Moslem, who headed a local militia backed by the Israeli army in the Adloun District, South of Sidon, the provincial capital of South Lebanon.'

According to some reports, his car was riddled with bullets en route to Tyre, while another report says that an explosive charge was set off by remote control. The AP dispatch also added that "the Israeli army has been forming local Shi'ite militias known as "National Guards" in almost every area of Southern Lebanon since its withdrawal on September 4, 1983."

Regardless of the accuracy or falsity of the report, the dispatch in itself is indicative of the fear of the Zionists and their imperialist supporters of the Islamic movements. That is why they have now resorted to labelling such 'National Guards' as "Shi'ite Militias" in order to bring about a breach in the folds of the Moslems. Such a policy must be considered as moves backing up rumors on Iran's arms deal with Israel.

Nowadays, all impartial and just people from among non-Moslems, are well aware of the fact that any cooperation with the invading and criminal Zionist regime is to us tantamount to trampling upon all human principles let alone the sublime Islamic values.

It is interesting to note that the same AP dispatch has also quoted the Beirut-based leadership of Amal, the well known Shi'ite group and the one foremost among Lebanese Shi'ite Moslems struggling against Israel, as having said they have 'vowed to punish any collaborators with Israel in South Lebanon.'

Is this by itself not clear proof testifying to the uncompromising struggle of the Moslem Shi'ites against international Zionism?

CSO: 4600/46

## IRAN

### TURKISH COLUMNIST OFFERS IRAN-IRAQ WAR SCENARIOS

Istanbul CUMHURIYET in Turkist 14 Oct 83 p 3

[Editorial by Ali Sirmen]

[Text] The papers were reporting yesterday that a 2,000-man American deployment force and U.S. warships are starting to take precautionary measures in the Indian Ocean.

These precautions are being taken against a possible Iranian move to close the Persian Gulf.

As is known, the Saddam Husayn regime has finally received French Etendard aircraft equipped with Exocet missiles. Through the use of these aircraft which have been delivered to Iraq, Bagdad intends to turn the course of the war in its favor by attacking Iran's gulf oil facilities. Tehran's initial response to such a move was to announce that it will put a stop to oil sales through the Gulf by closing the Straits of Hormuz. So it is that the precautionary measures being taken by the U.S. are directed at preventing this threat from becoming a reality.

Is there a real possibility of Iran's closing the Gulf, of U.S. intervention, and, as Khomeiniani asserts, of the incident's escalation into a world war?

Before answering these questions we must assess the possibility that Iraq would be able to deliver a fatal blow to Iran using this new weaponry.

We should note right off that there is virtually no possibility Iraq would be able to force the Khomeyni regime's capitulation in a short time through inflicting a death blow to Iran. So too we must remember that--even if we postulate for a moment that the Saddam regime does destroy Iranian facilities operating at one-fifth capacity along the Gulf's shore--the Khomeyni regime currently has foreign exchange reserves available to meet national needs for 6 months. Despite the major losses it may suffer, moreover, it is likely that Iran could succeed in remaining afloat through increased productivity during this period of facilities in the east.

Saddam Husayn himself is aware of this contingency. In fact Saddam's strategy is quite different from what one would imagine. The aim of Iraq's leader is to force the realization of Khomeyni's threat and thus effect U.S. intervention in the Gulf.

This being Saddam's approach, it seems rather hard to think that the Khomeyni regime would fall into its enemy's trap. In the face of a blow that would not cause its losing the war, why indeed would Iran--no matter the damage it will sustain (at Iraq's hands)--give the U.S. an open invitation to intervene in the Gulf through an act that would turn the entire world against it?

It is difficult to formulate an intelligent answer to this question. It is even quite hard to say whether the anachronistic Khomeyni regime suffers from this level of naivete and would extend its fanatical rage to the point of entrapping itself.

Even if we for a moment postulate the existence of this entire scenario, we could not conclude that Gulf developments would escalate into another world war. The reason being that the Gulf's closure is tantamount to strangling the Western world. In the event of such a development no one would be justified in asking, "Why intervention in the Gulf?" In other words, Iran's closure of the Gulf would serve to legitimize U.S. involvement in the Iran-Iraq war.

Bearing in mind the entire scenario noted above, it appears quite unlikely that Iran will close the Gulf--just as it is equally unlikely that Iraq will turn the tables of war in its favor with the new weaponry.

But in spite of everything, it is impossible to give a definite answer to the question, "Will the incomprehensible mechanism of mullah logic be set in motion again?"

The only thing to do in these circumstances is to say to both sides, "I just cannot believe what you are doing!"

CSO: 3554/43

# IRAQI MUSLIMS IN TEHRAN PROTEST GREEK EXTRADITION ACTION

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 11 Oct 83 p 1

[Text] TEHRAN (IRNA)--Iraqi Moslems residing here yesterday submitted a letter of protest to officials of Greek Embassy in connection with the repatriation to Iraq of three Iraqi Moslems Mujahideen presently detained in Athens.

Thousands of Iraqi Moslems participated in a march yesterday starting from North Tehran towards Greek Embassy in this connection.

The Supreme Assembly of the Islamic Revolution of Iraq in its letter announced that undoubtedly the case of the three Mujahideen was a political one.

Expressing regret for beatings and abuse meted out to the Mujahideen and the interference of authorities of Iraqi consulate office into their case, the Supreme Assembly stressed that their repeated trial was completely illegal.

It continued that the Iraqi nation would continue its struggle against Baghdad regime until it is toppled and that the repatriation of the Mujahideen would endanger the relations of Iraqi nation with Greek government.

An Iraqi theologian attending the march said that they were sure that the Mujahideen would suffer the same tortures and then be martyred like numerous other prisoners in the dreadful prisons of Iraq.

The Islamic Amal Organisation considered the plot against the Iraqi Mujahideen as an effort by Zionist-inspired Baghdad regime for covering its constant defeats at the battlefields. The organisation warned in its statement that the Greek interests would be damaged in case of extradition of Moslem Mujahideen to Iraqi government who are charged with arms smuggling.

At the end of their protest demonstrations, the participants held congregational and unity prayers.

Officials of Greek Embassy in Iran announced at 12:30 hours local time that they would reflect the demands of demonstrators to Athens. It is to be recalled that three Iraqi Moslem Mujahideen had been imprisoned in Greek prisons since two years ago and the Iraqi regime had asked for their extradition to Iraq after they were convicted on the pretext of their being smugglers.



# CHIEF JUSTICE RECOMMENDS 'SEVEREST PENALTY' FOR HOARDERS

Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian 13 Sep 83 p 12

[Text] The chief justice in a gathering of department heads and advisors of the Supreme Court, department heads and bureau chiefs of the general courts said: "Make an effort, on a priority basis, to sentence hoarders to the severest penalty, without any pity or tolerance, and in the shortest time possible."

Yesterday afternoon, in a gathering of department heads and advisors of the Supreme Court, and the heads and bureau chiefs of the general courts, while reviewing the quality and the volume of the courts' activities, chief justice of the Supreme Court, Ayatollah Musavi-Ardabili, said: "Under the former regime the judicial branch was under the control of the minister of justice who was part of the cabinet, and the government itself was under the control of the [Roya] court. But today, as a blessing of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the judiciary is independent, and the role of the minister of justice is only to act as a liaison between the judiciary and the other two branches."

In this gathering, that started with readings from the Koran, he admonished the participants regarding several issues and problems, among which were: changing the age requirement; decisiveness in sentencing the hoarders; establishing dynamism and the necessary growth in the court's activities; the amount of fines for violators; preparation and compilation of the monthly statistics of the performance of the courts; increasing the number of branches; roll call; delays in acting on cases; situation of employees whose positions are not commensurate with their long years of service; number of pending and acted on cases; evasion of duty at the branch level; not observing office hours; and acting in such a manner, during the current year, so as not to cast a shadow on the ministry of justice.

As reported by IRNA's correspondent, in connection with the change in age requirement for children's entry into schools, Ayatollah Musavi-Ardabili said: "It is a lie and a religiously prohibited act. Ministry of Education, merely because this circular has been in force since the old days, and today with regard to children's growth, physical strength, aptitude, and existence of preparatory classes, is not willing to overlook the 3-month age difference with the official birth date. Why do you, only because you don't want the child's education to be postponed for a year, accept this practice of

admitting the child with the up to three months age difference, knowing that it is a lie? Let the ministry of education and other proper authorities of the state make the decisions in this connection, and make exemptions on the 3-month issue; not the judiciary.

With regard to the government's decisions on the issues of price control, the distribution network and the criteria for hoarding the necessities, it was decided to deal with this tiny group of hoarders, who harm our society greatly, with decisiveness. Of course, some of these cases are under the jurisdiction of the revolutionary courts, but with regard to those that concern the ministry of justice, make an effort to investigate them, on a priority basis--in the shortest time possible, and sentence them to the severest penalty, without any pity or tolerance, so that we may, in cooperation with each other, make the judicial system worthy of its place in the constitution."

"Since the people think that the judiciary lacks decisiveness, you have to clear the judiciary of these accusations with your actions. We know that the fines set by the law for violators concern the past, but with the ratification of the new law, choose the severe version."

In conclusion, Ayatollah Musavi-Ardabili asked the participants to bring to the notice of the Supreme Judicial Council, by way of religious exhortation and admonition, any solutions, suggestions and criticisms they have regarding the workings of the Supreme Judicial Council, so that the judicial system would not be criticized.

"Endeavor to narrow the gap between the crime and the punishment and the penalty. You must know how the ministry of justice operated in the past and the point it has reached in terms of performance and position today. Let us, with the cooperation, sympathy and perseverance that I see in you, finish the current year's business in the course of this year, and not have any leftover cases for the next year. Make the ministry of justice a model organization and the symbol of justice and virtue."

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CSO: 4640/364

# KHAMENE'I WARNS POWERS SUPPLYING IRAQ WITH MISSILES

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 8 Oct 83 p 1

[Text] TEHRAN--"Those supplying missiles to the Iraqi Ba'athists to be used against our people, are indeed j jeopardizing their own political and economic future," announced President Khamenei yesterday.

Khamenei who is also Tehran's Friday Imam was addressing the a great multitude of the people during the citys Friday prayer ceremony, the Iranian Radio ceremony.

He then condoled the family members of these fallen victim to the ferocious air raids and missile attacks of Iraq on Iranian residential areas and assured them that the Iranian Moslem combatants would soon make the Iraqi Ba'athist regime pay for its crimes in the battlefields.

Khamenei then blasted those regimes who have chosen to keep silent in the face of all such brutal and shameless moves of the regime in Baghdad and those which impudently, by closing their eyes on all reason and logic, are assisting the Iraqi oppressive regime against the Islamic Republic of Iran.

"It is also quite clear to us," he went on to say, that all the powers and the two superpowers in particular, are directly and indirectly helping Saddam's collapsing government.

"I wonder if those who supply these missiles for manslaughter-which have all been so far used on residential areas of Iran--know what the consequences will be of such collusion and collaboration with a regime which is doomed to destruction.

"I want those countries that these missiles not only destroy the residential houses of people but that they also demolish the bridges that can link two nations together. By supplying these missiles to Saddam's rotten regime, they are actually creating an impregnable barrier to relations between their countries and the Islamic Republic. The Iranian people will not tolerate this.

"I wonder why the European powers and some of the regional states which cooperate in putting these missiles at the disposal of the Iraqis, do not think of thier own political and economic relations in future.

"Why have they chosen to intertwine their own political fate with that of a regime whose imminent downfall cannot be doubted by anyone? Do they not realize that millions of people in Iran and elsewhere in the world are condemning their collaboration with Saddam's insane regime?"

In the other sermon, Tehran's Friday Imam focused on the issue of Islamic leadership and argued that a big factor in deviating the Moslem communities from the path of God had always been the hypocrites who ruled the Islamic lands under the name of Islam but had nothing in common with an Islamic leader at all.

He also stressed that had the Iranian people realized what the characteristics of an Islamic leader should have been during the last fifty years, the country would not have suffered under the likes of Reza Shah (the ex-shah's father), who pretended to be a Moslem and employed all deceptive tactics to this end, to establish their rule.

"After the victory of the Islamic Revolution too", he continued, "some hypocrites and demagogues would gain access to high positions by resorting to deceptive tactics and lies. But the crushing waves of this vast ocean of the revolution finally brought them down and did away with them after some blows they (demagogues and hypocrites) inflicted on the country."

CSO: 4600/55

## BRIEFS

TRADE WITH BULGARIA--Mr Rumen Serbezov, Bulgaria's minister of light industry, and the members of the delegation accompanying him to Tehran, met with Seyyed Mostafa Hashemi, the minister of industry at the ministry of industry. At this meeting, the minister of industry of our nation welcomed Bulgaria's minister of light industry and expressed hope that the two countries would be able to expand their cooperation in food and cellulose products. Bulgaria's minister of light industry in return stated that: "The purpose of this trip is to find new ways for further development cooperation between the two countries." He also expressed the desire of his sovereign country to purchase goods such as linen, linen fiber, other goods, especially woven fabrics such as knits, light industry products, leather goods such as shoes, clothing and non-petroleum products. [Text] [Tehran BURS in Persian 12 Sep 83 p 8]  
9815

CSO: 4640/361



## FOODGRAINS EXPORT PERFORMANCE LAUDED

Karachi DAWN in English 9 Oct 83 p 1

[Text]

LAHORE, Oct 8: Advisor to the President on Business Coordination and Internal Trade, Shaikh Ishrat Ali, said that the country had shown remarkable performance in the export of foodgrains during the past few years and that Pakistan occupied third position among the largest rice exporting countries of the world.

Speaking as chief guest at a meeting held under the auspices of All Pakistan Flour Mills Association here on Thursday evening, he said that fortunately the country had not only become self-sufficient in wheat but also produced surplus wheat for export whereas it was used to be imported in the recent past.

He said that the flour industry had also achieved great progress and now the country had hundreds of flour mills as compared to the fewer that existed at the time of establishment of Pakistan.

The Advisor said that it was due to the policy of the present government that the industry in the private sector received great encouragement. He urged the flour mills owners to perform their national duty by supplying wholesome and best quality flour to the people which would also help them earn good name for themselves.

Referring to the demand of the flour mills owners that the bran which was being produced in surplus be allowed to be exported, the Advisor assured them to take up the matter with the Federal Export

Board in its next meeting.

He agreed to the observation of the President, Pakistan Flour Mills Association that all flour mills should become members of the Association which, he said, would greatly help in strengthening coordination and framing Government policies about wheat and flour. As regards the lower milling rates of flour in Sind, as pointed out in the address of welcome to him, the Advisor assured that he would talk to the provincial Government to bring the rates atleast at par with those in other provinces.

Sheikh Ishrat Ali, has called upon the flour mill owners to provide wholesome and quality atta to the general public in the interest of national health.

He said the present government had done everything possible to develop trade and industry and it was the moral duty of the commercial and industrial circles to realise their responsibilities towards the nation and the country.

The presidential advisor emphasised that wheat atta was the major ingredient of our national food and the supply of wholesome atta in the market was a great national service.

On a demand for introducing uniform milling rates all over the country, Sheikh Ishrat Ali said the matter would be considered at the appropriate forum. He also promised to take up the issue of the export of bran with the concerned authorities.—PPI

FORMER PRESIDENT'S SON DISCUSSES AYUB TAKEOVER, CURRENT SITUATION

Karachi JANG in Urdu 31 Aug 83 Magazine pp 2-4

[Interview with Hamayun Mirza by Hanif Khalid; date not specified]

[Text] Pakistan's former head of state Iskandar Mirza was about to announce general elections in November 1958 but his government was overthrown on 27 October of the same year and thus he was unable to implement his plan. This was disclosed by the late president's son, Hamayun Mirza, in a special interview with JANG's correspondent. Hamayun Mirza, 53, is presently the head of the Central America division of the World Bank and recently returned to Pakistan on vacation. Mr Mirza watched and listened to the proceedings of the Advisory Council along with his wife from the presidential gallery.

When Iskandar Mirza's son was asked for an interview, he at first tried to evade it, but when his attention was drawn to the fact that some politicians, including some members of the Advisory Council, did not have a very good opinion of his father and that they think of him as an enemy of politicians and politics, then handsome, smart, tall and attractive Hamayun Mirza agreed to give an interview. When the correspondent arrived at his beautiful house in Islamabad at the appointed time, along with a photographer, he found him ready for the interview.

Our first question was whether the late Iskandar Mirza did not apprehend that his government would be overthrown. He replied that he had full faith in the friendship of the commander-in-chief, Gen Ayub Khan, and on the other hand had become fully convinced that the politicians were bent on destroying Pakistan.

At times one group of politicians in the National Assembly would become the majority party and form a government and at another time the members of that group would dissolve the parliament and a second group would now form the government. Gen Iskandar Mirza was aware that the politicians were plundering the country and sucking the people's blood, and when they were challenged they stopped supporting the government, which was then forced to resign.

When he was asked why the late Iskandar Mirza remained a silent spectator for more than 1½ years, Hamayun Mirza replied that his father was a staunch supporter of democracy. But when he saw that self-seeking politicians and their

supporters were looting the hard-earned money of the people by smuggling and hoarding, he made plans to hold general elections, including presidential elections, in November 1958. Iskandar Mirza wrote to me about his plans in June 1958. He wrote this letter on writing paper in the president's house and I still have it with me. Hamayun Mirza said that at the time he had just completed studies in the Business School at Harvard University and was making preparations to return home. He said he wanted to serve Pakistan and the Pakistani people and spend his whole life in his beloved country. Hamayun Mirza said that he wrote to his father stating that he would be returning to Pakistan in about 2 months, immediately after completing his studies. But he received a letter from his father in June 1958 in which he clearly stated that the politicians were destroying Pakistan and that he could not bear to see the country being destroyed and that he had decided not to remain in power any longer. He added that with this view in mind, he was going to announce that general elections would be held in November 1958 and that as a result of these elections another person would become the president of Pakistan. If you return to Pakistan now, said his father, after the elections his enemies would make life difficult for him and place obstacles in his way, and he therefore advised him not to return to Pakistan for the time being.

Replying to a question about the deteriorating political and economic conditions in Pakistan, Hamayun Mirza asked what political or economic stability could you expect in a country where politicians and members of parliament are willing to sell their loyalty every 4 months just for a paltry sum of money, for legal or illegal licenses and permits, and where ministries are formed and broken up every 6 months or a year. Under such circumstances, said Hamayun Mirza, his father decided to hold presidential elections and form a new parliament through general elections so that some other person could assume responsibility as head of state.

When asked that since governments were formed and broken up every 6 months then, as in other countries, his father, too, could have assumed full control, in other words, he could have imposed presidential rule for some time, Mr Hamayun Mirza said that his father did not wish to retain all the powers of the presidency even though the naval, ground and air forces supported him. He said his father was not ambitious for power, as is being said of him today. He wanted to rule the country according to democratic principles. He knew very well that the World Bank, the IMF and other international organizations would extend assistance only if there was political stability in the country.

Hamayun Mirza, recalling the days he spent in the president's house, said that his father spent a very busy time and that he met him at lunches or dinners planned weeks in advance. One day as we were sitting on the terrace of the president's house we were informed that the former government had been defeated and the Hussein Shahid Suhrawardy, who was elected leader of the House, wished to meet my father because he would now be forming the cabinet. My father had me sit with my friends and he himself settled down with the late Suhrawardy on two chairs placed at a distance from us so that we could not hear them. My friend Zulfiqar Ali was also sitting with me. He usually came to see me at the president's house and I in turn went with him to his house. In the meantime, dinner was announced and I still remember the historical words my father said as he and the late Suhrawardy passed by us.

My father was telling Mr Suhrawardy: "You should at least think of the country," and Mr Suhrawardy replied that "the country would look after itself, we have to rule the country."

Hamayun Mirza said that other leaders also talked in that way. Mushtaq Ahmed Gurmani and Mian Mumtaz Mohammad Daultana were all alike. They wanted to make money and put the blame on the president. My father had informed these politicians that he would be holding elections so that the country could be ruled according to democratic principles.

My father wanted to remain defense minister and he wanted to retire as an army man. He had a great liking for the army. But in 1953 or 1954, when the crisis occurred in East Pakistan and relations between Pakistan and China were not as good as they are today and the Chinese were threatening East Pakistan, Ghulam Mohammad, who was then the governor general of Pakistan, appointed my father as the military governor of East Pakistan. My father, using his professional capabilities, statesmanship, prudence and far-sightedness, succeeded in his mission. The Chinese threat passed and stability was once again restored in East Pakistan, as a result of which my father gained tremendous international fame and was appointed minister of interior and Kashmiri affairs after he was recalled. Being interior minister, he came very close to the governor general, Ghulam Mohammad, who followed my father's advice. But during this time he suffered a stroke. At the time, Pakistan was a dominion in the British Commonwealth and the queen made my father governor general of Pakistan. I think this was in 1955. At the time, my father promised the nation that he would make Pakistan a totally free country and would make it a republic. My father fulfilled his promise and on 23 March 1956 Pakistan attained freedom from British rule and became a republic. My father was elected speaker of the National Assembly and with the end of Pakistan's position as a dominion in the Commonwealth, he became the first president of Pakistan.

Hamayun Mirza sorrowfully said that when Ayub Khan overthrew his father's government, he also removed from the textbooks the fact that his father was the first president of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. This is the reason for the omission of my father's name from history books. Hamayun Mirza pointed out to the present government that if in any of the books for graduates, post graduates and other grades in the current curriculum, the uprising of 27 October 1958 is referred to as a revolution or the facts pertaining to his father's period of government have been distorted, then these should be corrected and placed in their proper perspective for the benefit of coming generations, because he said that he believes the present government is neutral.

#### Foreign Bases and Confederation

Asked what were the major causes that toppled his father's government, Hamayun lifted his head toward the tastefully decorated drawing room and said that it was a long story. He said that General Ayub Khan could not have taken such an action without outside help. He said that when his father was the president he not only held meetings with the political parties and exchanged views on internal problems facing the country but eagerly sought the stability of the whole region. At that time, Pakistan had good relations with all the neighboring



countries, including India, Afghanistan, Iran and Turkey. My father wanted to form a confederation of Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran, so that a strong Muslim army could be formed to play the role of a stabilizing force in the Middle East. Before Pakistan was established, the army of united India played this role. When Pakistan was formed, the Indian Army was divided. My father, who was an experienced general, in his capacity as the president of Pakistan proposed a confederation of Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran. The rulers of Iran and Afghanistan supported the idea because the army of a Muslim confederation could be a deterrent to the ever-growing Zionist menace in the Middle East. But the Western countries who were encouraging Zionism did not approve of this plan because they do not want to see a strong Muslim bloc. Second, Western countries wanted to have military bases in Pakistan against Soviet Union. But he said that his father rejected the idea of foreign bases right from the start. He added that the two decisions made by his father about the Pakistani nation and Muslim nationhood brought about his downfall. Foreigners, he said, became suspicious of his father because of his concept of a Muslim confederation and his rejection of foreign basis on Pakistani territory, and they probably conspired with Gen Ayub Khan and his associates. Gen Ayub assured these foreign masters that no confederation would be formed among Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan and that permission would be granted for foreign bases in Pakistan.

#### Preparations to Overthrow the Government

When former president Iskandar Mirza's son Hamayun Mirza was asked how his father's government was overthrown on 27 October 1958, he noted that as commander-in-chief, Gen Ayub Khan had his headquarters in Rawalpindi, and his father, as the president, lived in the president's house in Karachi. He said that Ayub Khan was his father's trusted colleague and that his father never suspected him. Commander-in-Chief Gen Ayub Khan transferred from the Karachi area all army officers believed to be loyal to his father and sent them to the Kashmir front, and in their place, he and soldiers loyal to him were stationed all around his father, Iskandar Mirza. He said that after completing this action, Gen Ayub Khan told his father that he feared disturbances in Karachi and it was necessary to deploy military units around Karachi very close to each other so that in the event of disturbances they could promptly move into the city and prevent bloodshed. He said that his father, fully trusting him as usual, told him that if there was real danger he should take appropriate measures. Gen Ayub stationed military units under the command of officers loyal to him as close to Karachi as possible, and in addition he brought in tank regiments as well.

27 October 1958

He said that the night his father's government was overthrown a reception was held in one of the foreign embassies in Karachi, attended among other dignitaries by his father and General Ayub. During the reception, he said, his father and General Ayub had friendly conversation and his father as usual kept joking with Ayub Khan, who also took part in the jokes. He added that before leaving, his father told Ayub Khan to come for tea the next morning and to collect the books he needed, and Ayub Khan replied that they would meet in the morning. The following morning, three generals came to the president's house



and asked my father's military secretary to wake him. The military secretary knocked on my father's door and told him that some people wanted to see him. My father, who was sleepy, asked if some problem had cropped up in East Pakistan and when the military secretary replied in the negative, my father told him that in that case he should ask them to come back later in the morning. The military secretary told him that three generals wished to see him. My father at once put on his gown and when he opened the door he was surprised to find three generals standing together, one of them with a revolver in his hand. The generals told him that they had come with instructions from Gen Ayub Khan to ask for his resignation and that if he did not sign the prepared letter of resignation they had orders to shoot him, that military units were surrounding the president's house and that there was no way of escape. My father asked the generals whether before signing the letter of resignation he could speak to two foreign ambassadors. The generals agreed, but when he called, neither of the ambassadors was available, which showed that Ayub Khan had already sounded them out in advance. They got my father's signature on the documents and he was then immediately packed off to Quetta.

When Hamayun Mirza was asked for the names of the generals who had approached his father he refused, saying that the families of the generals concerned were in Pakistan, but when he was told that the information was a part of Pakistan's history he replied that one of them was Gen Azam Khan, another was General Burki, but he said he did not remember the name of the third general. He said that his father was forcibly removed from power and secretly sent to an army barracks. Young soldiers guarded my father with guns pointed at him continuously for 3 days; they had orders to that effect. My father was kept at the barracks in Quetta and only the intervention of the countries that had taken part in his removal from power saved Iskandar Mirza's life, because some generals had specifically told General Ayub that he should be shot. But two foreign countries and perhaps General Ayub himself, because of his staunch friendship, saved my father from death and he was exiled to England.

When Hamayun Mirza was told that since the time his father was removed from power until today certain circles have been alleging that President Iskandar Mirza squandered large sums of state money, he became enraged and said that before he could tell them how much his father looted Pakistan he would first like to tell them something more important. He said that on 28 October and in the days that followed officials of the new government looted his father's property and vandalized everything. He said that he did not want to go into details and added that his father liked to collect the best guns, which were all taken away by some of the present-day high-ranking military officers and that those guns decorate the drawing rooms of their sons and grandsons even today. Now coming to your question, from the day my father was overthrown until his death everyone knows that he spent his life in a state of want and misery. He was a true patriot. But the politicians in those days robbed the people with both hands. If my father had really amassed wealth, then after his disposition he would have spent his life in royal splendor. My father had no wealth. I had to save \$200-\$300 from my salary to send him money. My father received a pension from the British Indian Army, which was the major source of his subsistence. My father tried to get a job but the British companies were not prepared to employ a former president of Pakistan because by doing so

they would be jeopardizing their interests in Pakistan. Later on, Ayub Khan approved a pension for my father.

#### Yahya's Regime

Mr Hamayun Mirza said that Ayub Khan could not tolerate his father's returning to Pakistan. But after Ayub Khan, during Yahya Khan's regime, my father tried to contact him. But General Prizada prevented my father from coming back and he died in London while in exile. We wanted to bury him in Pakistan in accordance with his will. We had also bought a piece of land for his grave but we were not allowed to bring my father's body to Pakistan, and we were forced to approach my father's friend, the Shah of Iran, who not only gave the necessary permission for his burial in Iran but as a sign of respect for my father also gave instructions that his body be draped with the Iranian flag. Yahya Khan and General Pirzada did not allow any of our relatives to leave the country to attend the burial. My three sisters and their children were in Pakistan at the time and they still are. When he was being buried draped in the Iranian flag, I protested because I wanted him to be buried with a Pakistani flag, not an Iranian flag. In response to my protest, my father was finally buried draped in a Pakistani flag.

#### Relationship With Bhutto

When Mr Hamayun Mirza was asked about Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who was with him at the president's house when Iskandar Mirza and Suhrawardy were talking, he said that Bhutto was his friend and that a number of times he had offered him a cabinet post and at one time after coming into power he had asked him to become his finance minister. After 4 years, he said he had once again asked him to join his cabinet. Mr Hamayun Mirza added that it was he himself who had introduced Bhutto to Gen Ayub Khan, besides his father, and that the late Rizaul Haq was also their common friend. He said that after Bhutto came into power, he had asked him to become his finance minister. He added that when he was in Pakistan at that time, he spent the whole night with Mr Bhutto, who tried to persuade him to join his cabinet. Hamayun Mirza said that later he left for the United States and wrote back to Bhutto explaining why he did not wish to join his cabinet. He said the real reason was that he was opposed to the nationalization of private firms and property. He said that it was his firm conviction that a country cannot achieve progress if it adopts a policy of nationalization. Also, he said that Zulfikar was intoxicated with the lust for power and he had started saying things that are inappropriate for a head of state.

#### Present Government

When former president Iskandar Mirza's son Hamayun Mirza was asked to analyze the present government's economic policy, he said that during his father's regime there was no economic policy, because there was no stability in the country. He added that there was political confusion in the country because the country was not being governed by his father but by the politicians. Pakistan, he said, lacked stability and Gen Ziaul Haq for the first time restored stability in the country, something his father was incapable of doing.

At present, President Ziaul Haq is busy trying to establish a strong Islamic administrative system. This can be proved, he said, by the financial aid provided to Pakistan by the World Bank, the IMF and other international organizations.

Hamayun Mirza said that he supports democracy, but he added that democracy was a luxury that a country in Pakistan's position could ill afford to have. Pakistan, he added, is lacking in education, illiteracy is rampant in the country, political leaders buy votes and disturbances take place during elections. He added that there are politicians who do not believe in the ideology of Pakistan and give priority to defending their personal interests. Hamayun Mirza concluded that he supports democracy but that it was not possible given the politicians we have today.

9315

CSO: 4656/261

# ARRESTED POLITICAL LEADERS ORDERED TO APPEAR BEFORE COURT

Karachi DAWN in English 9 Oct 83 p 11

[Text]

The Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Mr. Gul Mohammad Umrani, yesterday adjourned the hearing till Oct 31 of the case against Mairaj Mohammad Khan and 11 others. They have been charged with holding an unlawful assembly in the Defence Housing Society on July 5, 1983.

The Magistrate ordered the Superintendent Jail, Karachi, to produce the six arrested political leaders: Khwaja Khairuddin, Mairaj Mohammad Khan, Maulana Ehtramul Haq Thanvi, Hasan Feroze Rashiduddin Tariq and Mirza Ashfaq Beg, who were not produced yesterday.

The Superintendent of Jail, Karachi, said that on Sept 22 Rashiduddin Tariq a convict, was transferred to Centrl Prison, Hyderabad, and Mairaj Mohammad Khan was transferred to Centrl Jail, Khairpur on Sept. 25.

Khwaja Khairuddin and Maulana Ehtramul Haq Thanvi are detained under MLO 78.

As regards production of accused Mirza Ashfaq Beg, he stated that Mushtaq Mirza, convicted by a military court on Sept 3, is sentenced to nine months' in jail and fined Rs. 50,000. He sought clarification whether he is the same accused who is required or otherwise.

Defence counsel has submitted an application for the acquittal of all the accused persons.

The application stated that the court may acquit them as the offence alleged against them are baseless and that there is no probability of the accused being convicted of any offence.

He said the prosecution had failed till this date to file any charge against them before this court.—PPI

CSO: 4600/51

NEW RAIL TRACK TO SAINDAK UNDER STUDY

Karachi DAWN in English 4 Oct 83 p 4

[Text]

QUETTA, Oct 3 The Federal Government has under consideration a Rs 1300-million project for the construction of a new rail track to connect integrated mineral development project of Saindak with the rail head of the Quetta-Zahidan section of the Pakistan Railways.

Well-informed sources told PPI here on Sunday that with the construction of the rail track, the 400 million dollars Saindak copper mine project, in the Chagai district, of Baluchistan, would get a greater fillip for the marketing of copper and other associated metals, like silver and molybdenum, to the foreign markets.

The sources said that the project is designed to produce 17,850 tons of blister copper annually, containing 52 ounces of gold, 80,000 ounces of silver, 234,000 tons of sulphuric acid and 100,000 tons of steel billets.

The first phase of the project, involving a total cost of 330 million US dollars has been approved for blister copper and sulphuric acid production.

The foreign exchange component required for the project comes to 240 million dollars a consortium of French, Canadian and Yugoslav companies has offered for 25 per cent share in the equity of the project, providing total foreign exchange component of 240 million dollars. The offer is under the consideration of the Federal Government. Another offer of 100 million dollars worth of mine equipment at subsidised rates is from Romania.

This offer may again come up for discussion at Pak-Romania Joint Commission, scheduled to meet sometime this month or next month.

A team of expert from Canada is also expected to visit Pakistan next month for further talks on financial assistance for the project from the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA).

Meanwhile, the Federal Government has approved another Rs 10 million for the Saindak project during the current financial year.—PPI.

CSO: 4600/51



## BRIEFS

**IRRELIGIOUS, SECULAR CHARGES REFUTED--LAHORE, Oct 13:** Not a single signatory (political party) to the 1973 Constitution, including the defunct PPP, can be termed irreligious or secular, and the terminology of "right and left parties" has been introduced and promoted in this country with some motives by certain quarters and a particular party. These views were expressed here today by Prof. Shah Faridul Haq, JUP Central Information Secretary at programme "Tajzia" of the Lahore Press Club. He spoke in detail on the JUP-Government dialogue and said the ball was now in the court of Government as the JUP had made everything clear to the people at the helm of affairs. He said the JUP had no differences with MRD or PPP. In Pakistan 99 per cent people were Muslims and as such the hypothesis of those who were trying to dubb others as secular and irreligious was nothing else but clear intentions to damage the very foundation and integrity of the country. Shah Faridul Haq enumerated the various details of incidents in the Sind province and attributed them to the indifferent attitude of the Government towards peaceful transfer of power. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 14 Oct 83 p 1]

**REMARKABLE OILSEED CULTIVATION PROGRESS--**Results of oil seed cultivation in lower Sind including Thatta, Badin, Golarchi, Tando Bago--have been remarkable. Addressing radio Press conference, in the "Zarieee kutchery" programme, Alhaj Fateh Mohammad Nizamani, area chief for Sind-Baluchistan of the Ghee Corporation of Pakistan, said the GCP was providing literature to the cultivators on scientific cultivation of oilseeds. Problems of oilseed cultivators were being looked into separately and efforts are made to help the peasants. Facilities of certified and high-yielding oilseed, fertilizer, pesticides, special loans were being extended. He advised the sunflower, safflower and soyabean cultivators of Sind and Baluchistan to send their produce to the GCP. Endeavours are made to make prompt payment by the GCP's Hyderabad office. He announced that prizes shall be awarded for high yield. We disclosed that the GCP has adopted extraordinary measures on its behalf to provide ample certified and high-yielding oilseed to the farmers for the next spring sowing season. Particular stress this time was being laid on cultivation of sunflower, which gave bumper yield and suited most in the Sind lower region. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 14 Oct 83 p 6]

**POLITICAL SUPPORT FOR CANDIDATES--MILTAN, Oct 13:** According to a reliable source here, investigations are in progress in Punjab confidentially about those candidates who have succeeded in the Local Bodies elections with the

hidden support of some defunct political parties with whom they are affiliated. If their affiliation with any of the defunct political parties is proved they would be disqualified from their offices forthwith, the source added. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 14 Oct 83 p 9]

WATCH OVER INDUSTRIAL CENTERS--FAISALABAD, Oct 13: All bit industrial and commercial centres of the city would be properly manned by chowkidars to check arson and hooliganism by MRD workers. This was agreed here on Tuesday at a joint meeting of local businessmen and administration. The Deputy Commissioner, Mr Jalil Abbas, said that he would personally supervise the operation in cooperation with the local traders. The traders on their part have assured the Government that they would pinpoint the miscreants and would assist the administration in effectively restraining the agitators from disrupting normal business activities in the commercial centres. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 14 Oct 83 p 9]

ALLEGED DISTRIBUTION OF RUSSIAN MONEY--According to reports received from our Peshawar bureau, some Afghan refugees and even some local residents suddenly seem to be in possession of vast sums of money. According to our bureau it is no secret now that money is being distributed in the NWFP by some foreign sources and these foreign sources are (probably) Russian. Knowledgeable sources in Peshawar view this situation with great concern because they say that 'foreign powers now want to open another front in Pakistan.' [Text] [Rawalpindi HURMAT in Urdu 6-22 Sep 83 p 4]

MENGAL-BUGTI CONVERSATION REPORTED--Quetta, 8 Oct (Special Correspondent)--Former chief minister of Baluchistan, Ataullah Mengal, who is these days living in self-exile in London, has talked with Nawab Akbar Bugti over the phone and told him that a copy of the resolution drafted by [Pakistani] politicians in London was being sent to Bugti. According to Mengal, when Abdul Wali Khan was in London recently, he was also sent a copy of the resolution, but he left London without signing it. Mengal further stated that Sindhi and Baluch politicians living in London were now busy preparing another joint declaration. Mengal did not give any details about the resolution [being sent to Bugti], but National Democratic Party's interim secretary-general Saleh Mohammed Mandokhel said in an interview a week ago that the draft which Wali Khan refused to sign proposed a confederation of all four provinces [of Pakistan]. From Mengal's phone conversation with Bugti, it seems that the proposed confederation has now been limited to two provinces, Sind and Baluchistan. [Excerpt] [Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 9 Oct 83 pp 3, 10]

CSO: 4656/20

STRONG OPPOSITION IN PARLIAMENT CONSIDERED A NECESSITY

Colombo SUN in English 10 Oct 83 p 9

[Letter by K. Kirthisinghe in the "Letters to the Editor" column]

[Text] If democracy means "a form of government in which the supreme power is vested in the people collectively", then it necessarily follows that the party in power must be evenly matched by the parties in the opposition.

Only then can the collective will of the people prevail. When the ruling party overpowers the other on account of its negligible number, then it is pure party rule that results.

Democracy functions best when there is a strong opposition. The opposition need not necessarily be great in numbers, but in its quality and the stature of the members that form the opposition.

Even a lone voice that has the confidence and respect of the country can keep in check the natural tendency of the majority party to act contrary to the collective will of the people.

Strangely, though, strength of numbers by itself is no criterion for appointment as Leader of the Opposition. Such an appointment may be true to the letter of the law, but not by any means either the spirit or intent of that clause in the Constitution.

The Leader of the Opposition must be a man of the people, who is aware of the people, who is aware of, and interested in and also able to express forcibly the collective will of the people and not merely that of a party and that has no identity of interest with the majority and other communities that form the larger part of the population of this country.

It is therefore of paramount importance that the office of the Leader of the Opposition should be held by the person most fit to do so, usually the leader or deputy of the party last in power. In the event of the sudden fall of the Government, it is he who will be called on to form a new Government. The present holder of this office can never fulfil that function, and so it is imperative for the proper functioning of a democratic government, to appoint an acceptable Leader of the Opposition without delay.

CSO: 4600/52

ARTICLE CALLS FOR NATIONAL UNITY

Colombo SUN in English 10 Oct 83 p 7

[Article by Vernon Amaratunga: "Rebuilding the Nation--First Priority"]

[Text] The task of rebuilding is not easy.

We are not or should not only think of bricks and cement but also the heart and minds of human beings, both of the Sinhalese and the Tamils. Yet challenges have always been a spur to human endeavour.

Samuel Johnson in his life on Milton said: "If every dreamer of innovations may propagate his projects, there can be no settlement. If every murmurer at Government may diffuse discontent, there can be no religion. The danger of such unbounded liberty and the dangers of bounding this liberty has produced a problem in the science of Government which human understanding seems hitherto unable to solve."

But J R Jayewardene, when he assumed office as Prime Minister in 1977 said, "I want the Government and through It the country to anticipate time, perhaps ahead of our times. We must be ready and equipped to meet the challenges of the future as they arise. I prefer to do something rather than nothing. Rather than see things as they are and ask why, I prefer to dream of things that never were and ask Why not?"

Why let these words remain only as a piece of oratorical brilliance? Why let these words recede into the limbo of forgotten things? Why permit these great ideas to remain dreams and tasks undone? The fault is yours and mine my friends. We let it happen.

So even now, let us awake. Let us all get together and do something. Let us all unite and find solutions to the problems that beset us. Let us get down on our knees and pray for the will and the strength to act fearlessly in the living present to build a better tomorrow for us all.

Firstly let us find ways for the Tamil leadership to ease away the demand for Eelam. Everyone knows it is a pie in the sky. But they must be able to do this without loss of face or dishonour. One way would be to demonstrate good intentions by fully implementing the Tamil language as a national language.

Secondly, let us reassure the Sinhalese that the Tamils will genuinely join hands in building a united nation. For this the Tamils should publicly denounce Eelam and state that they will identify themselves with the Sinhalese while preserving their language, their customs and their culture.

Thirdly the restrictive provisions of Thesawalamai must be abolished. This will be a further demonstration of the desire to join hands. Just as much as the Tamils are free to own land in the south, the Sinhalese must feel that they could own land in the north.

Fourthly, let us combat terrorism, whether it be the northern or the southern variety. For this, let us analyse what begets terrorism.

It is basic economic need--through real inequality of opportunity. The youth so converted to the cause want to change the existing system by force and by destruction in order to re-build according to their idealistic aspirations.

Yet history has shown that no such movement can last that no doctrine based on the shedding of blood, the taking of life, looting, arson, destruction and mayhem can exist. Control will be lost sooner or later as a suppressed people will get restless and take over. Violence begets violence. I believe that the only way to fight an idea is by a better idea not by force but by persuasion.

Let us demonstrate to them our will to create a better world which they could share with us. Let us make them join with us in achieving our common goals.

Fifthly, let us tackle the problem of 'mis-education.'

We cannot and should not permit our children to be isolated from each other any longer. Let us abolish the different streams of education which I call mis-education. The ideal is to re-introduce English as the medium of instruction and the official language of the country.

But the problem is whether it would be acceptable to the people. A Referendum is the only way to find out. Failing accord the two streams could easily be abolished.

Why cannot Sinhalese and Tamil children study together in one class?

In those days students studied in the English medium. Yet we had to study English language, English literature, Sinhalese language and Latin. "Therefore, today's children can easily study Sinhalese, Tamil, English, art, music, PT, singing, mathematics and the sciences together. There is no point in teaching mathematics and the science in Sinhalese and or Tamil only to switch--to English for higher studies, when most are at a disadvantage.

Studying in, the same class would mean that children will not only study each other's languages together but also develop friendships and understanding. All barriers of race, language as well as prejudices and suspicion will be forgotten.



Gramodaya Mandalayas must be made to play a positive role in establishing national unity. Peace and national harmony committees must cover all stratas of society so that this would be the via media through which national confidence could be rebuilt. In this respect we must remember that it would be natural for the Tamils who were affected to be bitter, recentful and even revengeful. But their bad feelings should not be directed at the larger section of the Sinhalese who gave them shelter, succour, support and sympathy. They must think, what manner of men would dare to destroy Kevils which are equally sacred to Buddhists, Buddhists shudder at the sacrilege and the wrath of the gods. The answer as to who would dare is obvious--those who do not believe in religion.

The Tamils must also remember that the Sinhalese on their part are suspicious. They have lost their sense of complacency and their tolerance. They have begun to speak of the clannishness of the majority of the Tamil people and their silence over Eelam issue which is now being interpreted to mean silent support. We must arrest these divisive trends without further delay.

Let us remember that we are one people. We have both come from India. We have existed together in harmony for over 400 years. Remembering this and also remembering how our leaders--Sinhalese and Tamil alike-strived side by side for Independence, let us resolve to banish divisive forces from our midst and divisive thoughts from our minds. Let us start anew.

CSO: 4600/52

## COUNTING THE COST OF RIOTS

Doha GULF TIMES in English 11 Sep 83 p 10

[Text]

THE ANTI-Tamil riots in Sri Lanka have put back the economy by 15 years, according to Tamil businessmen who have fled to India.

They say trade is virtually at a standstill in Colombo, the country's commercial hub, with the Tamils, who accounted for a major part of it, hounded out by Sinhalese mobs.

Industry has suffered because many factories in the small-scale sector are owned by Tamils. The state-owned Sri Lanka Insurance Corporation has estimated that insurance claims from the Tamils could amount to several million dollars.

Looted, destroyed and abandoned properties are officially to be handed back to the Tamils. Even if that policy is carried through, it could take several years to restore them to their former prosperity.

International trade and tourism have suffered too. International trade accounts for 40% of Sri Lanka's GNP and the Tamils are said to dominate the import trade in the private sector outside the multinationals.

Tea, which accounts for 53% of the country's export earnings, depend heavily on Tamil labour. With a large number of Tamils in refugee camps and wanting to return to India, tea production is bound to suffer.

Though Sri Lanka is calm now, violence could flare up again at any time, with the government, Sinhalese, moderate Tamils and Tamil terrorists each waiting to see what the others will do — scarcely a congenial climate for investment.

Sri Lanka may be a tourist paradise, but for many of its people it is a dismal place to live, with the lowest industrial wages in Asia.

Frustrations arising from growing inequalities, unemployment and soaring inflation had led the country into insurrections and general strikes even before the recent riots.

Inflation is over 30% a year. Two years ago, high oil prices forced the government to cut new investment by 40%. The massive agricultural and commercial projects of the last few years will take a long time to yield tangible results.

The present UNP government's steps to put the country on its feet have proved to be counter-productive in many ways. The withdrawal of subsidies on articles of daily use in the urban areas led to a sharp increase in prices and a rash of strikes.

Imports were liberalised to enable industry to acquire capital equipment and raw materials, but most of the imports were consumer durables and luxuries. The abuse was so bad that the trade gap widened from 350 million rupees to 2,143 million rupees in just one year from 1977 to 1978.

Fearing popular protests, the UNP government has been arming itself with a variety of powers like those under the Local Authorities (Imposition of Civil Disabilities) Act 1978 and the anti-terrorist laws. The parliamentary system has been replaced by a presidential one to strengthen the executive.

It is in the light of these tensions that one has to see the contention of President Jayewardene that the anti-Tamil riots were instigated by the Communists and the Janatha Vimukthi Perumana (JVP) which spearheaded the 1971 insurrection.

CSO: 4600/61

## CRACKDOWN ON PASSPORT RACKET REPORTED

Doha GULF TIMES in English 22-23 Sep 83 p 9

[Text]

**S**RI LANKA'S passport department is now seeking the aid of a computer to stop a rampant racket in passports after the recent discovery that some Lankans own as many as 10 passports.

According to official sources the Lankans apply for more than one passport to sell them to Indians and Pakistanis who change the photograph on the document. The Indians and Pakistanis use the passports mostly to get jobs on foreign ships.

Rackets in passports are rampant in Sri Lanka but the government is helpless to stop it unless a drastic change is made to the present system of issuing passports.

Multiple passports are used by some Lankans to travel to India often. By travelling on different passports the Lankans are able to circumvent foreign exchange regulations.

There has also been a fear in Colombo that the passport racket is tied up with the northern Tamil terrorists who may be using false passports to leave the country when hunted by police.

This fear follows the recent arrest of a Lankan who was running, according to police, a passport factory. He has admitted that he issued forged passports to a number of Tamils who are reported to have sought

political asylum in Canada, France and West Germany. The holders of these forged passports have told those countries that they are being hunted by Lankan police for their politics but it is believed that this excuse is used by them to find jobs in these countries. A number of these bogus "asylum seekers" have been deported and arrested in Colombo for travelling on forged passports.

In the case of the multiple passport racket applicants use many ruses. They apply for one passport and then using the same photograph, and documents keep applying for more.

Another ruse is for passport holders to report the loss of the document both in Lanka and abroad. If the loss is in Sri Lanka all the applicant has to do is to get a certified copy of his complaint to the police to get a fresh passport. If it is lost abroad the applicant makes a complaint to a Lankan diplomatic mission to get a fresh one.

The Colombo passport office has been inundated with applications during August and September and most of them were made by applicants who claimed that their passports and other documents were destroyed or lost during the ethnic violence of July.

According to official sources in Colombo the going rate for a Lankan passport is around \$250 per passport.

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